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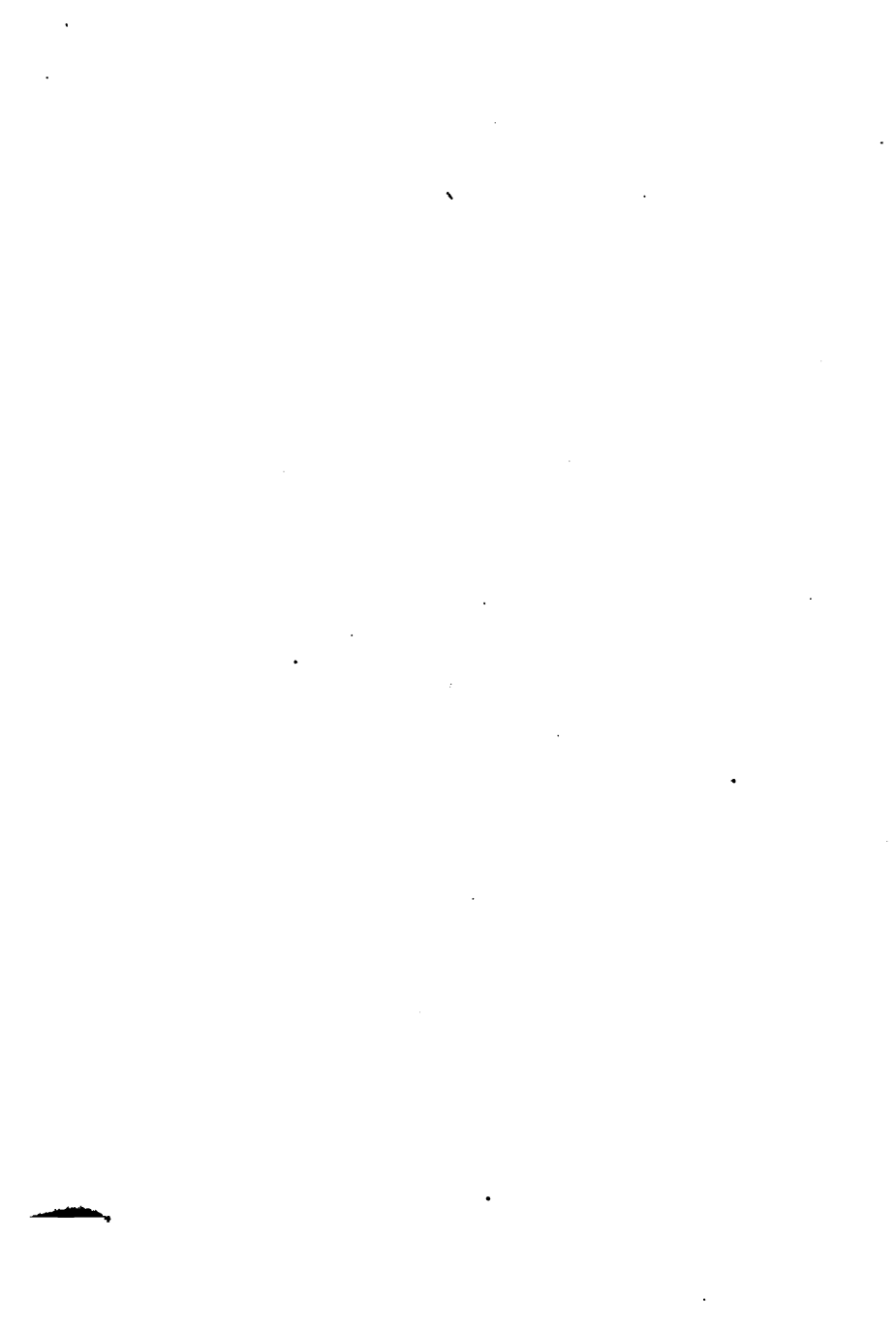
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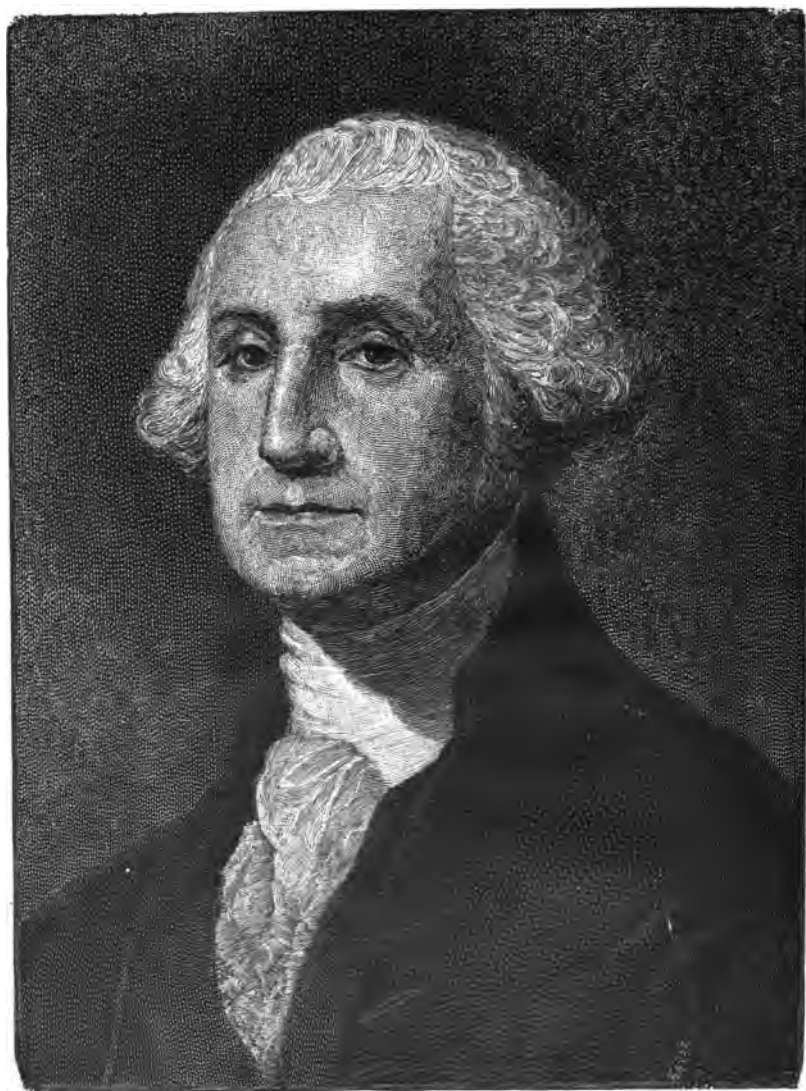
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GEORGE WASHINGTON.

PATRIOTIC CITIZENSHIP

*Till philosophers are rulers, or rulers are philosophers,
there will be no end to the ills of states and of men*

PLATO



BY

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*Great Western land, whose mighty breast
Between two oceans finds its rest,
Begirt by storms on either side,
And washed by strong Pacific tide.
The knowledge of thy wondrous birth
Gave balance to the rounded earth ;
In sea of darkness thou didst stand,
Now first in light, great Western land.*

*In thee the olive and the vine
Unite with hemlock and with pine ;
In purest white the southern rose
Repeats the spotless northern snows.
Around thy zone a belt of maize
Rejoices in the sun's hot rays ;
And all that Nature could command
She heaped on thee, great Western land.*

*Great Western land, whose touch makes free,
Advance to perfect liberty,
Till right shall make thy sov'reign might,
And every wrong be crushed from sight.
Behold thy day, thy time is here ;
Thy people great, with naught to fear.
God hold thee in His strong right hand,
My well beloved Western land.*

— CAROLINE HAZARD

INTRODUCTION.

THE object of this book is to stimulate patriotism, and promote good citizenship; this purpose dominates the entire work, and has controlled the selection and arrangement of topics, the admission and rejection of material, and the method of treatment. It should be judged by its purpose, and if it is adapted to the awakening and strengthening of a deep and lasting love of country, and an enthusiastic devotion to American institutions, it has accomplished its aim.

The golden woof of the volume is freedom,—freedom of thought, speech, conscience, worship, action; the silver warp is loyalty,—loyalty to truth, duty, and constituted authority,—and into the web is woven, in outline, many a picture of thrilling interest. The central feature of our national life is liberty, regulated by law. Liberty and law are complementary disks of the full sphere. American patriotism is the love of America as the land of liberty, and the home of the brave men and women who consecrated the country to freedom, not only by deeds of daring, but much more by the development here of those forces that tend to conserve and perpetuate freedom,—the home, the church, the school, a free press, the written constitution, trial by jury, an independent judiciary,—and by retaining the sovereign power in the people, and giving to

them the inalienable right of free suffrage. Love of liberty is the life, the soul that embodies and perpetuates itself in institutions.

The method of this book is simple; its essential feature being a catechism of about one hundred and forty short, direct questions, with as many concise, comprehensive answers, in which the author states clearly his own views on all the topics discussed. This form of conveying instruction is as old as Socrates, and still holds its place so firmly, that "modern methods" have not been able to uproot it.

The text of the answers is followed by brief citations from a wide range of authorities, ancient and modern, but chiefly American. These selections, besides giving variety, serve to explain, expand, and enforce the text, as well as to awaken in the minds of the pupils a desire for a wider acquaintance with patriotic literature. This the teacher is expected to aid by reference to familiar patriotic selections found in many school readers, to books made up of such selections, to cyclopedic collections of American literature, to the collected writings of great authors, and to standard historical works. This book may help to point the way to deeper sources.

It is selective and necessarily rejective in its choice of topics and material. Such topics have been chosen as seemed to have a direct bearing upon the central theme, — patriotic citizenship; and they have been treated, not exhaustively, but suggestively, so as to contribute towards arousing a love of country, and pointing out what is worthy of love, and why. It deals with principles rather than with details, with essentials rather than with incidentals: it is an outline of political philosophy. Much of the finest literature on the

selected topics has been rejected, partly because familiar and accessible, but chiefly for lack of space. The author has in hand a volume of choice matter accumulated in the preparation of this work, which he may possibly publish at no distant day.

The manual is designed primarily for the public schools, to be used in the upper grammar grades, following a course in United States history. It ought not to be a difficult task for a bright boy or girl of fourteen or fifteen years of age, to commit to memory the catechetical portion; which form, memorized and understood, will mold the thinking and reading of subsequent life, and be forceful in the formation of character.

It is adapted for use in private schools, in families, in reading circles, and while prepared especially for the young, it is no primer for babes, but presents a view of the essential features of our Republic found nowhere else in the same compass. It is unique, and may be studied profitably by any person, native or foreign born, who wishes to know the significance of the flag, and to understand the privileges and responsibilities of American citizenship.

Patriotism, to be fruitful, must be intelligent: it must comprehend the content of love of country, must know the full significance of the words "privilege" and "responsibility" as applied to citizenship. How shall one love liberty, who does not understand the meaning of the word? How shall he become enthusiastic over the free schools, who knows nothing of their purpose and their work? Why should he be willing to die for the flag, who knows nothing of its history or its significance? Why should he guard the ballot box with his life, who does not comprehend its sacredness?

In a republic, especially, the common welfare depends upon the character and action of the individuals who make up the community, particularly upon the voters, who are the sovereigns that hold its destiny in their hands. If the masses are selfish, vicious, or simply indifferent to the public welfare, it must necessarily suffer; but if the people are patriotic, and use their vast powers to promote the highest good of the state, the republic will prosper. Liberty, to endure, must be enshrined in the hearts of the people.

Patriotism bears its most abundant harvest, not when it animates a few great souls, but when it is widely diffused among the masses of the people; not when it is confined to the senate chamber and the battlefield, but when it pervades the family, the church, and the school, like an atmosphere, carrying health, vigor, and happiness to all, and stimulating all to good works. A flag should float from every schoolhouse, and the doctrines, not the cant, of patriotism, should everywhere be the language of the people.

Patriotism, although a natural impulse, needs to be cultivated: untrained, it may be but a sickly plant, or worse, a noxious weed; cultivated, it becomes a luxuriant and fruitful vine. The work of training this virtue should begin in childhood; the American public school should be the nursery of American patriotism. The vast outlay by the states of money for the schools,—aggregating about one hundred and fifty millions of dollars annually,—can be defended only on the ground of its public necessity and utility, its promotion of the public weal. Patriotism is the source of public good, and hence should be the prime object of public school training.

At no period in our national history has there been a more urgent need of practical training in patriotism than at present. The tide of patriotic fervor that carried us triumphantly through the costly struggle for the preservation of the Union has spent its force: a new generation has appeared upon the stage of action; millions of foreigners have come to make their home with us, who know little or nothing about our institutions, and whose natural patriotism inclines their hearts to the old country; even their children own a divided allegiance until taught to love America. To train these millions of new citizens to appreciate the meaning of patriotism is a duty and a privilege. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

The book is the outgrowth of more than thirty years of public participation in military, educational, and civil affairs, and of careful study of the great living questions of the day. The author has had the help of many sagacious friends and wise critics, has given it his best thought, and hopes that he has contributed something of value to the stability of the Republic. He now commits it to the ordeal of use, realizing the force of Aristotle's quaint suggestion that "it is not the cook but the guest who judges the banquet."

T. J. M.

NEW YORK, 1895.

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PATRIOTISM



NIAGARA FALLS.

*Our country, 'tis a glorious land,
With broad arms stretched from shore to shore;
The proud Pacific chafes her strand,
She hears the dark Atlantic's roar;
And, nurtured on her ample breast,
How many a goodly prospect lies
In Nature's wildest grandeur drest,
Enameled with her loveliest dyes!*

—WILLIAM J. PEABODY.

PATRIOTISM.

What is Patriotism?

Patriotism is love of one's country.

Such is the patriot's boast, where'er we roam, —
His first, best country ever is at home.

— *Oliver Goldsmith.*

I do love

My country's good, with a respect more tender,
More holy, and profound, than mine own life.

— *William Shakspeare.*

Patriotism is the passion which aims to serve one's country, either in defending it from invasion, or protecting its rights and maintaining its laws and institutions in vigor and purity; it is characteristic of a good citizen, the noblest passion that animates man in the character of a citizen. — *Noah Webster.*

It is the love of the people, it is their attachment to their government from the sense of the deep stake they have in such a glorious institution, which gives you your army and your navy, and infuses into both that liberal obedience without which your army would be a base rabble and your navy nothing but rotten timber.

— *Edmund Burke.*

That patriotism which, catching its inspiration from on high, and leaving at an immeasurable distance below all

lesser, grovelling, personal interests and feelings, animates and prompts to deeds of self-sacrifice, of valor, of devotion, and of death itself,—that is public virtue; that is the noblest, the sublimest of all public virtues! Personal or private courage is totally distinct from that higher and nobler courage which prompts the patriot to offer himself a voluntary sacrifice to his country's good.

— *Henry Clay.*

Analyze the patriotism which was the mighty force that moved our armies to the front. It was a patriotism which was not a mere instinct, but an experience; not a mere sentiment, but a conviction; not a mere impulse, but a determination; not a mere passion, but a principle: and yet an experience with the imperious urgency of instinct, a conviction with the ruddy glow of sentiment, a determination with the ardent spontaneity of impulse, and a principle with the white heat of passion; a patriotism rooted in right and grounded in justice, obedient to duty and consecrated to political equality, loyal to liberty and devoted to country, hallowed by religion and blessed of God.

— *Samuel Fallows.*

Why do we love our native land?

It is natural for us to do so; even many of the lower animals have a strong attachment to the place of their birth: that which is an instinct in them becomes an affection in man.

They love their land because it is their own,
And scorn to give aught other reason why;
Would shake hands with a king upon his throne,
And think it kindness to his majesty.

— *Fitz-Greene Halleck.*

We incline by a natural sentiment to the spot where we were born, to the fields which witnessed the sports of childhood, to the seat of youthful studies, and to the institutions under which we have been trained. The finger of God writes in indelible colors all these things upon the heart of man, so that in the dread extremities of death he reverts in fondness to early associations, and longs for a draught of cold water from the bucket in his father's well. This sentiment is independent of reflection, for it begins before reflection, grows with our growth, and strengthens with our strength.

— *Charles Sumner.*

To love one's country, one's place of birth, is universal and natural, and actually seems intensified in the inverse ratio of the advantages of location, in a common-sense view. The natives of Scotland and Switzerland are famous for their love of birthplace, although in either country it calls for a life struggle to eke out of earth enough to keep body and soul together.

— *William T. Sherman.*

There's a magical tie to the land of our home,
Which the heart cannot break, though the footsteps may roam;
Be that land where it may, at the Line or the Pole,
It still holds the magnet that draws back the soul.
'Tis loved by the freeman, 'tis loved by the slave;
'Tis dear to the coward, more dear to the brave!
Ask of any the spot they like best on earth,
And they'll answer with pride, "The land of my birth."

— *Eliza Cook.*

If the Norwegian boasts of his home of rocks and the Siberian is happy in his land of perpetual snow, if the Roman thought the muddy Tiber was the favored river of heaven and the Chinese pities everybody born out of the Flowery King-

dom, shall not we, in this land of glorious liberty, have some thought and love for country ? — *Wendell Phillips.*

Patriotism is not only a legitimate sentiment, but a duty. There are countless reasons why, as Americans, we should love our native land. We may feel no scruples as Christians in welcoming and nourishing a peculiar affection for its winds and soil, its coast and hills, its memories and its flag. We cannot more efficiently labor for the good of all men than by pledging heart, brain, and hands to the service of keeping our country true to its mission, obedient to its idea. Our patriotism must draw its nutriment and derive its impulse from knowledge and love of the ideal America, as yet but partially reflected in our institutions, or in the general mind of the Republic. Thus quickened it will be both pure and practical.

— *T. Starr King.*

Is Patriotism merely a personal, local attachment to one's home ?

No, love of home in its narrower sense is only the beginning of Patriotism ; the sentiment extends so as to embrace the community, town, state, country. The more intelligent one is, the broader is his Patriotism.

Patriotism is ever united with humanity and compassion. The noble affection which impels us to sacrifice everything dear, even life itself, to our country, involves in it a common sympathy and tenderness for every citizen, and must ever have a particular feeling for one who suffers in a public cause.

— *John Hancock.*

To love one's country has ever been considered honorable; and under the influence of this noble passion every social virtue is cultivated, freedom prevails through the whole, and the public good is the object of every one's concern.

— *Jonathan Mason.*

The sentiment of patriotism is not merely associated with the clods of the valley which gave us birth. It is complicated of the recollections of the great men our country has produced; of their heroic and beneficent actions; of affection for its institutions, its manners, its fame in arts and in arms. This sentiment must be cherished and invigorated by associating with it an enlightened love of liberty, a taste for knowledge, and an ardent enthusiasm for those arts which lend to human existence its most refined enjoyments.

— *Henry Wheaton.*

Is patriotism a narrow affection for the spot where a man was born? Are the very clods where we tread entitled to this ardent preference because they are greener? No, this is not the character of the virtue, and it soars higher for its object. It is an extended self-love, mingling with all the enjoyments of life and twisting itself with the minutest filaments of the heart. It is thus we obey the laws of society, because they are the laws of virtue. In their authority we see, not the array of force and terror, but the venerable image of our country's honor. Every good citizen makes that honor his own and cherishes it not only as precious, but as sacred. He is willing to risk his life in its defense, and is conscious that he gains protection while he gives it.

— *Fisher Ames.*

Patriotism, whether we reflect upon the benevolence which gives it birth, the magnitude of its object, the happy effect which it produces, or the height to which it exalts human

character, by the glorious action of which it is the cause, must be considered as the noblest of all the social virtues. The patriot is influenced by love for his fellow men and an ardent desire to preserve sacred and inviolate their natural rights. His philanthropic views, not confined to the small circle of his private friends, are so extensive as to embrace the liberty and happiness of a whole nation. That he may be instrumental, under heaven, to maintain and secure these invaluable blessings to his country, he devotes his wealth, his fame, his life, his all.

— *Increase Cook.*

Is Patriotism the love of country only in its natural features, — its fields, forests, streams, mountains, etc.?

No, Patriotism embraces a love for the institutions of one's country, — its manners, customs, laws.

It was a noble attachment to a free constitution which raised ancient Rome from the smallest beginnings to that bright summit of happiness and glory to which she arrived; and it was the loss of this which plunged her from that summit into the black gulf of infamy and slavery.

— *Joseph Warren.*

A man's country is not a certain area of land, — of mountains, rivers, and woods, — but it is principle; and patriotism is loyalty to that principle. In poetic minds and in popular enthusiasm, this feeling becomes closely associated with the soil and the symbols of the country. But the secret sanctification of the soil and the symbol, is the idea which they represent; and this idea the patriot worships, through the name

and the symbol, as a lover kisses with rapture the glove of his mistress and wears a lock of her hair upon his heart.

— *George W. Curtis.*

What is it to be an American? Putting aside all the outer shows of dress and manners, social customs and physical peculiarities, is it not to believe in America and in the American people? Is it not to have an abiding and moving faith in the future and in the destiny of America?—something above and beyond the patriotism and love which every man whose soul is not dead within him feels for the land of his birth? Is it not to be national and not sectional, independent and not colonial? Is it not to have a high conception of what this great new country should be, and to follow out that ideal with loyalty and truth?

— *Henry Cabot Lodge.*

Have we not learned that not stocks nor bonds nor stately houses nor lands nor the product of the mill is our country? It is a spiritual thought that is in our minds. It is the flag and what it stands for. It is its glorious history. It is the fireside and the home. It is the high thoughts that are in the heart, born of the inspiration which comes by the stories of their fathers, the martyrs to liberty; it is the graveyards into which our careful country has gathered the unconscious dust of those who have died. Here, in these things, is that which we love and call our country, rather than in anything that can be touched or handled.

— *Benjamin Harrison.*

Is Patriotism confined to love for one's native land?

No; it includes love for the land of one's adoption. One may love the country of his choice even more than that of his birth.

A man's country is not merely that of his birth, so often a matter of chance, but the land of his happiness. Born in one quarter of the globe, without attachment for its associations, he may become so bound up and identified with that of his adoption as to hold it in every respect as his own true native land. In this light do very many of our citizens consider America. It has afforded shelter and refuge; it has recognized the liberty which is theirs through a common humanity. In no other land is there like freedom in matters of conscience, such recognition and appreciation of the great principles of religion, and the universal obligation of all men to seek the highest happiness of all.

— *Raphael Lasker.*

We insist, indeed, on the duty of all citizens, whether native born or naturalized, to be, or make themselves, thoroughgoing Americans; but to be Americans is to understand and love American institutions, to understand and love the American mission, to understand and love American liberty, to understand and love American principles and interests, and to use with a free and manly spirit the advantages of American citizenship to advance the cause of religion and civilization. Those who will not be Americans in this sense, we disown; we hold to be "outside barbarians" and not within the pale of the American order.

— *Orestes A. Brownson.*

Let us glory in the title of American citizens. We owe an allegiance to our country, and that country is America. We must be in harmony with our political institutions. It matters not whether this is the land of our birth or of our adoption. It is the land of our destiny. Here we intend to live, and here we hope to die. And when our brethren across the Atlantic resolve to come to our shores, may they be animated by the sentiments of Ruth when she determined to join her husband's

kindred in the land of Israel; and may they say to you, as she said to her relatives: "Whither thou hast gone I also shall go, where thou dwellest I also shall dwell, thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God. The land that shall receive thee dying, in the same will I die, and there will I be buried." — *John Conway.*

"Rule Britannia," the "Marseillaise," "Die Wacht am Rhein," and every folksong of the older world has drifted over the Atlantic's stormy waves; and as each echo, growing fainter with advancing leagues, has reached this spot it has been merged into that one grand chorus, —

"My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing."

— *Carter H. Harrison.*

Where is the true man's fatherland?
Is it where he, by chance, was born?
Doth not the yearning spirit scorn
In such scant borders to be spanned?
Oh, yes, his fatherland must be
As the blue heaven, wide and free!

Where'er a human heart doth wear
Job's myrtle wreath, or sorrow's gyves;
Where'er a human spirit strives
After a life more true and fair, —
There is the true man's birthplace grand:
His is a world-wide fatherland!

— *James Russell Lowell.*

Why should all men cherish the sentiment of Patriotism?

Because the all-wise Creator has planted it in men's minds as a source of happiness to themselves and of good to society. It is unnatural to dislike one's country.

The noblest motive is the public good. — *Vergil.*

There is no greater sign of a general decay in virtue in a nation, than a want of zeal in its inhabitants for the good of their country. — *Joseph Addison.*

Every act of noble sacrifice to the country, every instance of patriotic devotion to her cause, has its beneficial influence. A nation's character is the sum of its splendid deeds; they constitute one common patrimony, the nation's inheritance. They awe foreign powers, they arouse and animate our own people. I love true glory. It is this sentiment which ought to be cherished; and in spite of cavils, and sneers, and attempts to put it down, it will finally conduct this nation to the height to which God and nature have destined it.

— *Henry Clay.*

Breathes there a man with soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said,
 " This is my own, my native land " ?
Whose heart hath ne'er within him burned,
As home his footsteps he hath turned,
 From wandering on a foreign strand ?
If such there breathe, go, mark him well.
For him no minstrel raptures swell.
High though his titles, proud his name,

Boundless his wealth as wish can claim ;
Despite those titles, power, and pelf,
The wretch, concentered all in self,
Living, shall forfeit fair renown,
And, doubly dying, shall go down
To the vile dust, from whence he sprung,
Unwept, unhonored, and unsung. — *Walter Scott.*

That monster never breathed, so far distorted from the forms of nature, whose bosom has not acknowledged that strongest instinct, that most universal passion, that most rational and virtuous affection of all those which God has implanted in the breasts of his creatures—the love of his country.

— *William Minto.*

What are some of the fruits of Patriotism ?

Unselfishness, devotion to the public welfare, courage, self-sacrifice, liberality, and many other virtues.

Life for my country and the cause of freedom,
Is but a trifle for a worm to part with ;
And, if preservèd in so great a contest,
Life is redoubled. — *Hezekiah Niles.*

What is the sweetness and glory of dying for one's country ? It is the bliss of self-renunciation ; of being absorbed by what is greater and more beautiful than ourselves.

— *George P. Fisher.*

I was born an American ; I live an American ; I shall die an American ; and I intend to perform the duties incumbent upon me in that character to the end of my career. I mean to do this, with absolute disregard of personal consequences.

What are personal consequences? What is the individual man, with all the good or evil that may betide him, in comparison with the good or evil which may befall a great country, and in the midst of great transactions which concern that country's fate? Let the consequences be what they will, I am careless. No man can suffer too much, and no man can fall too soon, if he suffer, or if he fall, in defense of the liberties and Constitution of his country. — *Daniel Webster.*

With passionate heroism, of which tradition is never weary of tenderly telling, Arnold von Winkelried gathers into his bosom the sheaf of foreign spears, that his death may give life to his country. So Nathan Hale, disdaining no service that his country demands, perishes untimely, with no other friend than God and the satisfied sense of duty. So George Washington, at once comprehending the scope of the destiny to which his country was devoted, with one hand puts aside the crown, and with the other sets his slaves free. So, through all history from the beginning, a noble army of martyrs has fought fiercely and fallen bravely for that unseen mistress, their country. So, through all history to the end, as long as men believe in God, that army must still march and fight and fall,—recruited only from the flower of mankind, cheered only by their own hope of humanity, strong only in their confidence in their cause. — *George W. Curtis.*

What especial reasons have Americans for loving America?

The territory occupied by the United States is continental; its shores are washed by the two great

oceans ; its mountains, plains, lakes, and rivers are among the most magnificent in the world ; it has great diversity of scenery and climate ; has boundless resources, and can support in comfort, even luxury, a population of many hundred million. It is a land of beauty and of plenty, a home suitable for a great nation of free people.

Never was a people so advantageously situated for working out this great problem in favor of human liberty.

— *Henry A. Boardman.*

With a just deference to the age, the power, the greatness of the other nations of the earth, we do not fear to appeal to the opinion of mankind whether, as we point to our land, our people, and our laws, the contemplation should not inspire us with a lover's enthusiasm for our country.

— *William M. Evarts.*

No words can depict, no pen can describe, the wonderful variety, richness, grandeur, and beauty which the Almighty has stamped upon this, our favored land. Every material for human industry, every facility for honorable employment, can be here found. The fisherman, the sailor, the farmer, the miner, the mechanic of every kind, the artist, the merchant, and even the preacher, the doctor, and the lawyer, may here find means of pursuing his vocation. In what part of the habitable globe can any man utter with greater truth the words of the psalmist, —

“ O Lord, how great are thy works ” ?

— *John Sherman.*

The "Stars and Stripes" now float over a vast continent, extending from the Atlantic to the Great Ocean, and from the Gulf to the Frozen Seas of the North. The great Republic may now be considered as embracing four nearly equal quarters of about nine hundred thousand square miles each,—the first being the original territory east of the Mississippi River; the second, the Louisiana Purchase; the third, Texas and the Mexican provinces; and the fourth covering Oregon and Alaska.

—*William A. Mowry.*

In all the allotments of Providence we have been placed in a pleasant and beautiful country,—a country washed on either hand by the waters of the circling seas and teeming with all the elements of prosperity and power. This glorious country, this chosen seat of science and of art, this happy and peculiar residence of civil and religious liberty, has been won for us by the constancy and courage of our ancestors; it is the birthplace of blood and battle and prolonged disaster; and it is ours to defend, ours to enjoy, and ours to transmit in untarnished splendor to posterity.

—*William W. Holden.*

Great God, we thank thee for this home,
This bounteous birthland of the free,
Where wanderers from afar may come
And breathe the air of liberty.
Still may her flowers untrampled spring,
Her harvests wave, her cities rise;
And yet, till Time shall fold her wing,
Remain Earth's loveliest Paradise.

—*William J. Peabody.*

Is there anything in our history to awaken patriotic pride ?

Yes, a great deal ; our origin, and the deeds of our ancestors. Our history is rich in heroes.

The most substantial glory of a country is in its virtuous great men ; its prosperity will depend on its docility to learn from their example. That nation is fated to ignominy and servitude for which such men have lived in vain.

— *Fisher Ames.*

Next in purity and meekness to the thanksgivings which we owe to the God who gave, and guided, and sustained them, is the feeling of grateful reverence we should ever cherish toward those who are the instruments of his goodness. To the claims of our great men, of every age and time, of every sect and party, let us then be faithful. Let history transmit to other generations the story of their lives ; let the canvas and the marble perpetuate the image of their forms ; let poetry and music breathe forth their names in hymns and harmonies ; let the united voice of their countrymen echo their praises to the remotest shores,—so that wherever an American foot shall tread, or a lover of American liberty be found, there, too, the memory of their greatness shall abide,—a beauty and an excellence, the joy of all the earth !

— *Benjamin F. Butler.*

In the war of the Revolution, when it was thought the cause was lost, men became inspired at the very mention of the name of George Washington. In 1812, when we succeeded once more against the mother country, men were looking for a hero, and there rose before them that rugged, grim, indepen-

dent old hero, Andrew Jackson. In the last and greatest of all wars an independent and tender-hearted man was raised up by Providence to guide the helm of state through that great crisis, and men confidingly placed the destinies of this great land in the hands of Abraham Lincoln. In the annals of our country, we find no man whose training had been so peaceful, whose heart was so gentle, whose nature was so tender, and yet who was called upon to marshal the hosts of the masses of the people during four years of remorseless and bloody and unrelenting fratricidal war.

— *Horace Porter.*

It cannot be that men who are the seed

Of Washington should miss fame's true applause;
Franklin did plan us; Marshall gave us laws;
And slow the broad scroll grew a people's creed, —
One land and free! then at our dangerous need,
Time's challenge coming, Lincoln gave it pause,
Upheld the double pillars of the cause,
And dying left them whole, — the crowning deed.

Such was the fathering race that made all fast,
Who founded us, and spread from sea to sea,
A thousand leagues, the zone of liberty,
And built for man this refuge from his past,
Unkinged, unchurched, unsoldiered; shamed were we,
Failing the stature that such sires forecast.

— *George E. Woodberry.*

A nation is to be congratulated when it has many illustrious men in its history, to whom the people may look back with reverential love. Happy the people possessing among their dead a Washington and a Lincoln! Each such name helps to hold the passing generations, with all their new prob-

lems and revolutionary impulses, in allegiance to the ideals of the past. One must believe that Westminster Abbey is a perpetual incentive to true patriotism; that beneath the constant influence of its noble monuments demagogues could not flourish. As one walks beneath those arches and reads the records of heroes who have died in various climes for England and mankind, of the statesmen and authors who have for so many centuries been making the English language and ideas the most precious literary heritage of the world, one gets a profound impression of the solidity of English institutions, a firm confidence that widespread, deeply penetrating roots will keep the English oak green for centuries to come.

— *Franklin Carter.*

How can we cultivate our Patriotism?

By becoming acquainted with our country, studying its inspiring history, familiarizing ourselves with its institutions, and by taking an active interest in its affairs. A visit to the national capital, to some striking scene like Niagara Falls, the great prairies, the Yellowstone Park, the Yosemite Valley, or to some noted battlefield; the singing of national songs, or the reading of patriotic utterances, cannot fail to arouse love and admiration for our country.

Patriotism is one of the positive lessons to be taught in every school. Everything learned should be flavored with a genuine love of country. Every glorious fact in the nation's history should be emphasized, and lovingly dwelt upon. The

names of her illustrious citizens should be treasured in the memory. Every child should feel that he is entitled to a share, not only in the blessings conferred by a free government, but also in the rich memories and glorious achievements of his country.

— *Richard Edwards.*

The school is the one force, is the only force, that can unify all classes and conditions of society. Here we have the children of the nation in their entirety, and we can, if we will, teach them in the schools so much of the grandeur of our possessions, of the heroic in our history, of the brilliant in our prosperity, of the fascinating in our traditions, that the fathers of the future will be willing, to vote for, and die, if need be, for the American idea; that the mothers of the future will teach their sons to develop our resources by industry, to honor the historic heroism of our sires, to project the brilliancy of our prosperity into the future, to cherish, with unwavering devotion, the traditions of the land.

— *Albert E. Winship.*

And how is the spirit of a free people to be formed and animated and cheered, but out of the storehouse of its historic recollections? Are we to be eternally ringing the changes upon Marathon and Thermopylae; and going back to read in obscure texts of Greek and Latin of the exemplars of patriotic virtue? I thank God that we can find them nearer home, in our own country, on our own soil; that strains of the noblest sentiment that ever swelled in the breast of man, are breathing to us out of every page of our country's history, in the native eloquence of our native tongue; that the colonial and provincial councils of America exhibit to us models of the spirit and character which gave Greece and Rome their name and their praise among the nations. Here we may

go for our instruction; the lesson is plain, it is clear, it is applicable.

— *Edward Everett.*

Look at the mighty Mississippi, the Father of Waters. It rises in the nameless snows of North America, runs through twenty-three degrees of latitude, all our own soil, and washes the sides of ten young, flourishing, and powerful states. Its tributaries drain the rains that fall in sight of the Atlantic, and meet the streams that flow into the Pacific upon the summit of the Rocky Mountains. Its broad tides bear on their buoyant bosom the clothing of half the world, and the fertile valleys which spread out from its ample banks are capable of producing food for the whole population of the earth for a thousand years to come.

— *Matthew W. Ransom.*

As the American youth, for uncounted centuries, shall visit the capital of his country, — strongest, richest, freest, happiest of the nations of the earth, — from the stormy coast of New England, from the luxurious regions of the Gulf, from the prairie and the plain, from the Golden Gate, from far Alaska, — he will admire the evidences of its grandeur and the monuments of its historic glory.

He will find there, rich libraries and vast museums, which show the product of that matchless inventive genius of America, which has multiplied a thousandfold the wealth and comfort of human life. He will see the simple and modest portal through which the great line of the Republic's chief magistrates have passed, at the call of their country, to assume an honor surpassing that of emperors and kings, and through which they have returned, in obedience to her laws, to take their place again as equals in the ranks of their fellow-citizens. He will stand by the matchless

obelisk, which, loftiest of human structures, is itself but the imperfect type of the loftiest of human characters. He will gaze upon the marble splendors of the Capitol, in whose chambers are enacted the statutes under which the people of a continent dwell together in peace, and the judgments are rendered which keep the forces of states and nation alike within their appointed bounds. He will look upon the records of great wars and the statues of great commanders. But, if he know his country's history, and consider wisely the sources of her glory, there is nothing in all these which will so stir his heart as two fading and time-soiled papers whose characters were traced by the hands of the fathers one hundred years ago. They are the original records of the acts which devoted this nation, forever, to equality, to education, to religion, and to liberty. One is the Declaration of Independence, the other is the Ordinance of 1787.

— *George F. Hoar.*

Our native song — our native song,
Oh, where is he that loves it not?
The spell it holds is deep and strong,
Where'er we go, whate'er our lot.
Let other music greet our ear
With thrilling fire or dulcet tone,
We speak to praise, we pause to hear,
But yet — oh, yet — 'tis not our own.
The anthem chant, the ballad wild,
The notes that we remember long, —
The theme we sing with lisping tongue, —
'Tis this we love, — our native song.

— *Eliza Cook.*

THE FLAG.



FIRST AMERICAN FLAG.

*Behold, its streaming rays unite,
One mingling flood of braided light:
The red that fires the Southern rose,
With spotless white from Northern snows,
And, spangled o'er its azure, see,
The sister stars of Liberty.*

*Then hail the Banner of the Free,
The starry Flower of Liberty!*

— OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

THE FLAG.

What familiar object is especially suggestive of Patriotism?

Our national banner. Whenever and wherever seen, it awakens thoughts of country and kindles patriotism.

All hail to our glorious ensign! Courage to the heart, and strength to the hand, to which, in all time, it shall be intrusted! May it ever wave in honor, in unsullied glory, and patriotic hope, on the dome of the capitol, on the country's stronghold, on the tented plain, on the wave-rocked topmast. Wherever, on the earth's surface, the eye of the American shall behold it, may he have reason to bless it! On whatsoever spot it is planted, there may freedom have a foothold, humanity a brave champion, and religion an altar. Though stained with blood in a righteous cause, may it never, in any cause, be stained with shame. Alike, when its gorgeous folds shall wanton in lazy holiday triumphs on the summer breeze, and its tattered fragments be dimly seen through the clouds of war, may it be the joy and the pride of the American heart. First raised in the cause of right and liberty, in that cause alone may it for-

ever spread out its streaming blazonry to the battle and the storm. Having been borne victoriously across the continent, and on every sea, may virtue, and freedom, and peace forever follow where it leads the way. — *Edward Everett.*

From the time warrior-born man first buckled on the sword to maintain supremacy by force of arms, some symbol of sovereign might—dyed in the colors of nature—has blazed at the front on every contested field of pagan or of Christian land. Men seal their devotion to an idea, a principle, with their lives; but the mind is so constituted that the abstract thought must have material existence, and this the flag supplies; for, by some occult process of transubstantiation, it becomes in the eyes of the patriot the visible state, the embodiment of all that is grand and good and true in the structure of the nation; its defense the one lesson of patriotism, treason to its cause the unpardonable sin.

O banner of beauty and glory! Glinted by the first rays of the morning, as you crown the blue waters of the Atlantic, a beacon of liberty to all the lands; kissed by the light of noonday as you wave over the great Mississippi valley and spread your protecting shadow in majestic sweep from the unsalted seas to the land of the Montezumas; gorgeous in the golden sunset of that far occident, whose rivers tumble to the tide and hear no sound, save their own dashing; gathering a continent in your embrace, sheltering one great country under the benison of one mighty flag.

— *James S. Ostrander.*

There is the national flag! He must be cold, indeed, who can look upon its folds rippling in the breeze without pride of country. If he be in a foreign land, the flag is companionship, and country itself with all its endearments. Who, as he sees

it, can think of a state merely? Whose eye once fastened upon its radiant trophies can fail to recognize the image of the whole nation?

It has been called a "floating piece of poetry"; and yet I know not if it have any intrinsic beauty beyond other ensigns. Its highest beauty is in what it symbolizes. It is because it represents all, that all gaze at it with delight and reverence. It is a piece of bunting lifted in the air; but it speaks sublimely and every part has a voice. Its stripes of alternate red and white proclaim the original union of thirteen states to maintain the Declaration of Independence. Its stars, white on a field of blue, proclaim that union of states constituting our national constellation, which receives a new star with every new state. The two together signify union, past and present. The very colors have a language which was officially recognized by our fathers. White is for purity, red for valor, blue for justice; and all together, — bunting, stripes, stars, and colors, blazing in the sky, — make the flag of our country, to be cherished by all our hearts, to be upheld by all our hands.

— *Charles Sumner.*

Describe the United States Flag.

On the fourteenth of June, 1777, the Continental Congress resolved that the flag of the United Colonies should show thirteen stripes of red and white alternating to represent the number of the Colonies, with thirteen stars in a blue field.

This, after various changes, became the flag of the United States, and for every state added to the

Union, a star is added to our flag. The width of the flag is two thirds its length. Seven of the stripes, beginning with the outermost, are red. The blue field, or union, is square, and has the width of seven stripes. We call it the "Star-spangled Banner," the "Red, White, and Blue."

It is the flag of history. Those thirteen stripes tell the story of our colonial struggle, of the days of '76. They speak of the savage wilderness, of old Independence Hall, of Valley Forge and Yorktown. Those stars tell the story of our nation's growth, how it has come from weakness to strength, until its gleam in the sunrise over the forests of Maine crimson the sunset's dying beams on the golden sands of California.

— *S. L. Waterbury.*

Washed in the blood of the brave and the blooming,
Snatched from the altars of insolent foes,
Burning with star-fires, but never consuming,
Flash its broad ribbons of lily and rose.

Borne on the deluge of old usurpations,
Drifted our ark o'er the desolate seas,
Bearing the rainbow of hope to the nations,
Torn from the storm cloud and flung to the breeze!

God bless the Flag and its loyal defenders,
While its broad folds o'er the battlefield wave,
Till the dim star-wreath rekindle its splendors,
Washed from its stains in the blood of the brave!

— *Oliver Wendell Holmes.*

All nature sings wildly the song of the free,
The red, white, and blue float o'er land and o'er sea;
The white — in each billow that breaks on the shore,
The blue — in the arching that canopies o'er
The land of our birth in its glory outspread —
And sunset dyes deepen and glow into red;
Day fades into night and the red stripe retires,
But stars o'er the blue light their sentinel fires;
And though night be gloomy, with clouds overspread,
Each star holds its place in the field overhead;
When scatter the clouds and the tempest is through,
We count every star in the field of the blue.

— *Anonymous.*

In radiance heavenly fair,
Floats on the peaceful air
That flag that never stooped from victory's pride;
Those stars that softly gleam,
Those stripes that o'er us stream,
In war's grand agony were sanctified;
A holy standard, pure and free,
To light the home of peace, or blaze in victory.

— *F. Marion Crawford.*

What is the office of the Flag?

It typifies the Nation; it stands for our country.
It is carried by our troops in battle; streams from
the masts of our ships of war; flies from our forts
and public buildings at home, and marks our embas-
sies and consulates abroad. It should float from

every schoolhouse in the land, and the sight of "Old Glory" should always arouse our enthusiasm.

Every nation has a flag that represents the country — every army a common banner which, to the soldier, stands for that army. It speaks to him in the din of battle, cheers him in the long and tedious march, and pleads with him on the disastrous retreat.

— *Joel T. Headley.*

Wherever civilization dwells, or the name of Washington is known, it bears on its folds the concentrated power of armies and navies, and surrounds the votaries with a defense more impregnable than a battlement of wall or tower. Wherever on earth's surface an American citizen may wander, called by pleasure, business, or caprice, it is a shield securing him against wrong and outrage.

— *Galusha A. Grow.*

It is a little thing, perchance, to put the stars and stripes a few miles nearer to the pole than has been put the flag of any other nation; but yet, somehow or other, that fact appeals to us as Americans.

— *Adolphus W. Greely.*

Many years ago, in my wanderings, I found myself on a steamer anchored in the bay of Naples, the dense fog preventing our entrance into port. Standing on deck and peering through the mist to get, if possible, a sight of Naples and its beautiful surroundings, a rift in the fog disclosed the old flag borne by a man-of-war. Excitedly I turned to my traveling companion, the tears starting to my eyes, and, pointing to it, said, "See our flag." I shall never forget the emotions I then experienced. I felt in my heart that, though a wanderer far from country, home, and friends, I had in that old flag a protector.

— *Augustus L. Chetlain.*

I have recently returned from an extended tour of the States, and nothing so impressed and so refreshed me as the universal display of this banner of beauty and glory. It waved over the schoolhouses; it was in the hands of the school children. As we speeded across the sandy wastes at some solitary place, a man, a woman, a child, would come to the door and wave it in loyal greeting. Two years ago I saw a sight that has ever been present in my memory. As we were going out of the harbor of Newport, about midnight, on a dark night, some of the officers of the torpedo station had prepared for us a beautiful surprise. The flag at the depot station was unseen in the darkness of the night, when suddenly electric search lights were turned on it, bathing it in a flood of light. All below the flag was hidden, and it seemed to have no touch with earth, but to hang from the battlements of heaven. It was as if heaven was approving the human liberty and human equality typified by that flag.

—*Benjamin Harrison.*

Our flag is the symbol of sovereignty, the emblem of the love of country. It ought to float wherever the spirit of this great country is at work; in its halls at Washington, in its city halls, in its public buildings—everywhere. Our youth ought to be taught that we have a government built up on sacrifices as that of no other nation is. We take these other nations into our own, but not before they have renounced all allegiance elsewhere. This is the land of freedom, of equal rights, and the guarantee of it is the flag which floats over our common city.

—*Abram S. Hewitt.*

Out upon the four winds blow,
Tell the world your story;
Thrice in hearts' blood dipped before
They called your name Old Glory!

Stream, Old Glory, bear your stars
High among the seven;
Stream a watchfire on the dark,
And make a sign in heaven!

When from sky to sky you float,
Far in wide savannas,
Vast horizons lost in light
Answer with hosannas.
Symbol of unmeasured power,
Blessed promise sealing,
All your hills are hills of God,
And all your founts are healing!

Still to those — the wronged of earth —
Sanctuary render;
For hope and home and heaven they see
Within your sacred splendor!
Stream, Old Glory, bear your stars
High among the seven;
Stream a watchfire on the dark,
And make a sign in heaven!

— *Harriet Prescott Spofford.*

How should the Flag be treated?

Because it is the emblem of the Nation's dignity, power, and protecting care, it should be treated with great respect and affection.

We join ourselves to no party that does not carry the flag and keep step to the music of the Union. — *Rufus Choate.*

If any one attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot.
— *John A. Dix.*

If ever it is a question whether you or the flag must perish, you will instantly choose that it shall not be the flag.
— *William T. Sherman.*

America, so proud and free,
I give my song, my heart to thee!
Still let thy heav'n-born symbol fly
In ev'ry clime, 'neath every sky;
Still rise a yeoman race, to stand
For God, and home, and native land!

— *Jeremiah E. Rankin.*

For myself, in our federal relations, I know but one section, one union, one flag, one government. That section embraces every state; that union is the Union sealed with the blood and consecrated by the tears of the Revolutionary struggle; that flag is the flag known and honored in every sea under heaven; which has borne off glorious victory from many a bloody battle-field, and yet stirs with warmer and quicker pulsations the heart's blood of every true American, when he looks upon its stars and stripes. I will sustain that flag wherever it waves — over the sea or over the land. And when it shall be despoiled and disfigured, I will rally around it still, as the star-spangled banner of my fathers and my country; and, so long as a single stripe can be discovered, or a single star shall glimmer from the surrounding darkness, I will cheer it as the emblem of a nation's glory and a nation's hope. — *Daniel S. Dickinson.*

Let us twine each thread of the glorious tissue of our country's flag about our heart strings, and looking upon our homes, and catching the spirit that breathes upon us from the battle-

fields of our fathers, let us resolve that, come weal or woe, we will in life and in death, now and forever, stand by the stars and stripes. They have floated over our cradles, let it be our prayer and our struggle that they shall float over our graves.

— *Joseph Holt.*

Stand by the flag, its folds have streamed in glory,
To foes a fear, to friends a festal robe,
And spread in rhythmic lines the sacred story
Of freedom's triumphs over all the globe;
Stand by the flag, on land, and ocean billow;
By it your fathers stood, unmoved and true;
Living, defended; dying, from their pillow,
With their last blessing, pass'd it on to you.

Stand by the flag, though death shots round it rattle;
And underneath its waving folds have met,
In all the dread array of sanguine battle,
The quivering lance and glittering bayonet;
Stand by the flag, all doubt and treason scorning,
Believe, with courage firm and faith sublime,
That it will float until the eternal morning
Pales in its glories all the lights of time.

— *Anonymous.*

How does the Flag appear in our literature?

It has a conspicuous place in history, and forms the subject of numerous eloquent passages in prose, and of many beautiful poems.

Behold it! Listen to it! Every star has a tongue; every stripe is articulate. "There is no language or speech where

their voices are not heard." There is magic in the web of it. It has an answer for every question of duty. It has a solution for every doubt and perplexity. It has a word of good cheer for every hour of gloom or of despondency. Behold it! Listen to it! It speaks of earlier and of later struggles. It speaks of victories, and sometimes of reverses, on the sea and on the land. It speaks of patriots and heroes among the living and the dead. But before all and above all other associations and memories, whether of glorious men, or glorious deeds, or glorious places, its voice is ever of Union and Liberty, of the Constitution and the Laws. — *Robert C. Winthrop.*

In 1777, within a few days of one year after the Declaration of Independence, the Congress of the Colonies assembled and ordained this glorious national flag which we now hold and defend, and advanced it full high before God and all men, as the flag of liberty.

It was no holiday flag emblazoned for gayety or vanity. It was a solemn national signal. When that banner first unrolled to the sun, it was the symbol of all those holy truths and purposes which brought together the Colonial American Congress! Our flag means, then, all that our fathers meant in the Revolutionary War; it means all that the Declaration of Independence meant; it means all that the Constitution of our people, organizing for justice, for liberty, and for happiness, meant. Our flag carries American ideas, American history, and American feelings. Beginning with the colonies and coming down to our time, in its sacred heraldry, in its glorious insignia, it has gathered and stored chiefly this supreme idea — *divine right of liberty in man.* Every color means liberty; every thread means liberty; every form of star and beam or stripe of light means liberty: not lawlessness, not license; but

organized, institutional liberty — liberty through law, and laws for liberty.

It is not a painted rag. It is a whole national history. It is the Constitution. It is the government. It is the free people that stand in the government on the Constitution. Forget not what it means; and for the sake of its ideas, be true to your country's flag.

— *Henry Ward Beecher.*

Let it idly droop or sway
To the wind's light will;
Furl its stars, or float in day;
Flutter, or be still!
It has held its colors bright,
Through the war smoke dun;
Spotless emblem of the right,
Whence success was won.

Let it droop, but not too long!
On the eager wind
Bid it wave, to shame the wrong;
To inspire mankind
With a larger human love,
With a truth as true
As the heaven that broods above
Its deep field of blue. — *Lucy Larcom.*

Why is the Eagle used as a national symbol?

The custom of selecting some beast or bird to typify the nation, is very ancient, very common, and very suggestive. England has chosen the Lion;

Russia the Bear ; and the United States the Eagle, which, because of its size, its strength, its beauty, its sustained and lofty flight, and its piercing vision, is considered the noblest of birds. It is a fit symbol of freedom.

When Freedom from her mountain height

Unfurled her standard to the air,

She tore the azure robe of night,

And set the stars of glory there.

She mingled with its gorgeous dyes

The milky baldrick of the skies,

And striped its pure celestial white

With streakings of the morning light ;

Then, from his mansion in the sun,

She called her eagle bearer down,

And gave into his mighty hand

The symbol of her chosen land.

Majestic monarch of the cloud,

Who rear'st aloft thy regal form,

To hear the tempest trummings loud

And see the lightning lances driven,

When strive the warriors of the storm,

And rolls the thunder drum of heaven, —

Child of the sun ! to thee 'tis given

To guard the banner of the free ;

To hover in the sulphur smoke,

To ward away the battle stroke ;

And bid its blendings shine afar,

Like rainbows on the clouds of war,

The harbingers of victory !

— *Joseph R. Drake.*

Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation,
rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her
invincible locks; methinks I see her as an eagle, muing her
mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-
day beam, purging and unsealing her long-abused sight at the
fountain itself of heavenly radiance, while the whole noise of
timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twi-
light, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and in their
envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms.

— *John Milton.*

I build my nest on the mountain's crest,
Where the wild winds rock my eaglets to rest,
Where the lightnings flash and the thunders crash,
And the roaring torrents foam and dash;
For my spirit free henceforth shall be
A type of the sons of Liberty.

Away I spring with a tireless wing,
On a feathery cloud I poise and swing;
I dart down the steep where the lightnings leap,
And the clear, blue canopy swiftly sweep;
For dear to me is the revelry
Of a free and fearless Liberty.

Then give to me in my flights to see
The land of the Pilgrims ever free!
And I never will rove from the haunts I love,
But watch, from my sentinel track above,
Your banner free, o'er land and sea,
And exult in your glorious Liberty.

— *Anonymous.*

THE DISCOVERY.



CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

Columbus, seeking the back door of Asia, found himself knocking at the front door of America.

— JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

THE DISCOVERY.

What is meant by the Discovery of America?

Prior to the fifteenth century, the commerce and intercourse of the world were confined chiefly to the inhabitants of Europe, Asia, and Africa. The new world was said to be "discovered" when Columbus visited it and gave an account of it. Henceforth America was to be an important factor in the world's history.

The fame of Columbus is not local or limited. It does not belong to any single country or people. It is the proud possession of the whole civilized world. In all the transactions of history there is no act which for vastness and performance can be compared with the discovery of the continent of America, "the like of which was never done by any man in ancient or in later times." — *James Grant Wilson.*

Christopher Columbus died still holding many mistaken ideas about the lands he had discovered. He thought Cuba a part of the mainland, and he still believed the mainland to be some outlying part of Asia; while the more civilized lands, he

imagined, might be reached by a strait leading into some inner sea — like the Mediterranean in Europe. But in spite of his mistakes in geography, Columbus knew perfectly that he had made a very great discovery and earned for himself a glorious name.
— *Elizabeth Eggleston Seelye.*

Immortal morn, all hail !
That saw Columbus sail
By Faith alone !
The skies before him bowed,
Back rolled the ocean proud,
And every lifting cloud
With glory shone.

Fair science then was born,
On that celestial morn,
Faith dared the sea ;
Triumphant over foes
Then Truth immortal rose,
New heavens to disclose,
And earth to free.

Strong Freedom then came forth,
To liberate the earth
And crown the right ;
So walked the pilot bold
Upon the sea of gold,
And darkness backward rolled,
And there was light.

— *Hezekiah Butterworth.*

There is a certain immortality in a great deed, like that of Columbus, which makes the doer, even though in many respects an ordinary man of his time, forever memorable.

The discovery of America has been called the greatest event in secular history. This dictum may shock the ancients and startle the moderns ; but let the minds of reflective students range at will through the centuries, back and forth in the galleries of human achievement, and determine if you can what single secular deed even approximates in grandeur and far-reaching historic significance to the finding of a new world on this earth, with which planet alone history is concerned. The passage of Christopher Columbus across the western sea, bearing the weight of Christendom and European civilization, opened the way for the greatest migrations in human history, for the steady march of enlightened nations towards civil and religious liberty. The discovery of America was the first crossing of Oceanus, that great and murmuring stream, which flowed around the old Mediterranean world. Amid the groaning and travailing of human creatures, men burst the confines of that outward sea and began to people new continents. The modern history of Europe, with its long exodus of hungry, landless peoples, with its epoch-making laws, its revolution in church and state, were conditioned by that one secular event, called the discovery of America. — *Herbert B. Adams.*

Give some account of the Discovery.

America was discovered in 1492 by Christopher Columbus, a native of Genoa, Italy. He set sail from Spain in search of a passage to the East Indies, and, after an heroic voyage of bold adventure, great peril, and distressing hardships, came to anchor off the coast of the island of San Salvador.

With boldness unmatched, with faith in the teachings of science and of revelation immovable, with patience and perseverance that knew no weariness, with superior skill as a navigator unquestioned, and with a lofty courage unrivaled in the history of the race, Columbus sailed from Palos on the 3d of August, with three vessels, the largest (his flagship) of only ninety feet keel, and provided with four masts, eight anchors, and sixty-six seamen. Passing the Canaries and the blazing peak of Teneriffe, he pushed westward into the "sea of darkness," in defiance of the fierce dragons with which superstition had peopled it, and the prayers and threats of his mutinous seamen, and on the 12th of October landed on one of the Bahama Islands.

— *Benson J. Lossing.*

With all the visionary fervor of his imagination, its fondest dreams fell short of the reality. He died in ignorance of the real grandeur of his discovery. Until his last breath he entertained the idea that he had merely opened a new way to the old resorts of opulent commerce, and had discovered some of the wild regions of the East. What visions of glory would have broken upon his mind, could he have known that he had indeed discovered a new continent, equal to the old world in magnitude, and separated by two vast oceans, from all the earth hitherto known by civilized man! How would his magnanimous spirit have been consoled amid the afflictions of age and the cares of penury, the neglect of a fickle public and the injustice of an ungrateful king, could he have anticipated the splendid empires which would arise in the beautiful world he had discovered; and the nations, and tongues, and languages, which were to fill its land with his renown, and to revere and bless his name to the latest posterity.

— *Washington Irving.*

Little wonder that the whole world takes from the life of Columbus one of its best-beloved illustrations of the absolute power of faith. To a faithless world he made a proposal, and the world did not hear it. To that faithless world he made it again and again, and at last roused the world to ridicule it and to contradict it. To the same faithless world he still made it year after year; and at last the world said that, when it was ready, it would try if he were right; to which his only reply is that he is ready now, that the world must send him now on the expedition which shall show whether he is right or wrong. The world, tired of his importunity, consents, unwillingly enough, that he shall try the experiment. He tries it; he succeeds; and the world turns round and welcomes him with a welcome which it cannot give to a conqueror. In a moment the grandeur of his plans is admitted, their success is acknowledged, and his place is fixed as one of the great men of history.

Give me white paper!

The sheet you use is black and rough with smears
Of sweat and grime and fraud and blood and tears,
Crossed with the story of men's sins and fears,
Of battle and of famine all those years
When all God's children have forgot their birth
And drudged and fought and died like beasts of earth.

Give me white paper!

One storm-trained seaman listened to the word;
What no man saw he saw, and heard what no man heard.
For answer he compelled the sea
To eager man to tell
The secret she had kept so well;

Left blood and woe and tyranny behind,
Sailing still West that land newborn to find,
For all mankind the unstained page unfurled
Where God might write anew the story of the world.
— *Edward Everett Hale.*

The Genoese who sailed
A westward course, in the wild hope to find
The distant Indies, failed;
But in the quest for the rich Orient
He touched the fringes of a continent
And gained a nobler blessing for his kind;
Though dying unaware
Of the full fruitage of his enterprise
And all its glory rare,
And half believing Orinoco's tide,
Far shining through the tropic forests wide,
The stream around the Earthly Paradise.
— *Joseph O'Connor.*

Was our country unknown prior to 1492?

It is said to have been visited by Europeans centuries before, but it was practically an unknown continent.

So far as Columbus knew, no one had ever crossed the Atlantic Ocean, or even heard that it had any west coast at all. True, Norsemen had long before crossed northern portions of the Atlantic and discovered Iceland, Greenland, and Vinland. But there is no evidence, so far as I am aware, that Columbus had ever heard of these discoveries. No; Columbus

was inspired by faith, not by sight, not even by science. True, the science of his day, in admitting that the earth is a sphere, admitted the possibility that the Atlantic had somewhere a west boundary, having, of course, an east coast. But the possibility was regarded as a theory rather than as a fact. Whereas Columbus believed the theory to be a fact; and he believed it so supremely that he devoted all the resources of his strong manhood—physical, mental, moral—to the discovery of that far-off western shore. He did not know where that shore lay, but he believed that it lay somewhere westward. And so what seemed to others “the sea of darkness” seemed to Columbus a sea of light. To cross that sea and find that unknown coast, Columbus felt himself divinely called.

— *George Dana Boardman.*

That the daring barques of the Northmen had long before found their way from Greenland to the coast of North America is likely, though not certain. What is certain is that nothing more came, or in that age could come, of their visit than of the visit of a flock of sea gulls. The basement of an old mill at Newport, which they turned into a Norse fortress; the Dighton rock, on which fancy traced Norse runes; the dykes at Watertown, in Massachusetts, in which fancy still sees the defenses of the Norse city of Norumbega, only attest the yearnings of a new nation for antiquity.

— *Goldwin Smith.*

He failed. He reached to grasp Hesperides,
To track the foot-course of the sun, that flies
Toward some far western couch, and watch its rise,—
But fell on unknown sand-reefs, chains, disease.

He won. With splendid daring, from the sea's
Hard, niggard fist he plucked the glittering prize,

And gave a virgin world to Europe's eyes,
Where gold dust choked the streams, and spice the breeze.

He failed fulfillment of the task he planned,
And drooped a weary head on empty hand,
Unconscious of the vaster deed he'd done;
But royal legacy to Ferdinand
He left, — a key to doorways gilt with sun, —
And proudest title of "World-father" won!

— *George W. W. Houghton.*

Expeditions to the shores of North America are said to have gone forth from the British Isles in very ancient times, and even in advance of the Northmen; first under the conduct of Madoc, a prince of Wales, and afterwards under the lead of Irish adventurers. No other than vague traditionary accounts of these expeditions have come down to us, but records of early voyages from Iceland have been found, which afford the strongest circumstantial evidence that the New England coast was visited, and that settlements thereon were attempted by Scandinavian navigators full five hundred years before the first voyage of Columbus.

— *George H. Preble.*

*Who dwelt in America when it was discovered by
Columbus?*

Wandering tribes of red men called Indians, numbering, perhaps, half-a million.

They were called Indians because the first discoverers believed America to be a part of India. There were between the two races occasions enough for quarreling. Dishonest

white men were sure to cheat the ignorant Indians, and the violent among the Indians were as sure to revenge themselves. If an Indian suffered wrong from one white man, he thought he had a right to take vengeance on any man, woman, or child of the white race when he had opportunity.

Many of the Indians were reduced to perpetual slavery. These were usually the captives spared after Indian wars. They were often shipped from one colony to another, so as to remove them from a chance of communicating with wild Indians who spoke the same language or belonged to allied tribes with themselves. But the Indians did not bear slavery so well as the Africans, and the most of them perished from hard labor, severe punishment, and the loss of the liberty which an Indian prizes above everything.

— *Edward Eggleston.*

When was the red man's summer?

When the rose

Hung its first banner out? When the gray rock,
Or the brown heath, the radiant kalmia clothed?
Or when the loiterer by the reedy brooks
Started to see the proud lobelia glow
Like living flame? When through the forest gleam'd
The rhododendron? or the fragrant breath
Of the magnolia swept deliciously
O'er the half laden nerve?

No. When the groves

In fleeting colors wrote their own decay, .
And leaves fell eddying on the sharpen'd blast
That sang their dirge; when o'er their rustling bed
The red deer sprang, or fled the shrill-voiced quail,
Heavy of wing and fearful; when, with heart

Foreboding or depress'd, the white man mark'd
The signs of coming winter: then began
The Indian's joyous season. Then the haze,
Soft and illusive as a fairy dream,
Lapp'd all the landscape in its silvery fold.
The quiet rivers that were wont to hide
'Neath shelving banks, beheld their course betray'd
By the white mist that o'er their foreheads crept;
While wrapped in morning dreams, the sea and sky
Slept 'neath one curtain, as if both were merged
In the same element. Slowly the sun,
And all reluctantly, the spell dissolved,
And then it took upon its parting wing
A rainbow glory.

Gorgeous was the time,
Yet brief as gorgeous. Beautiful to thee,
Our brother hunter, but to us replete
With musing thoughts in melancholy train.
Our joys, alas! too oft were woe to thee;
Yet ah! poor Indian, whom we fain would drive
Both from our hearts and from thy father's lands,
The perfect year doth bear thee on its crown,
And when we would forget, repeat thy name.

— *Lydia H. Sigourney.*

When the civilized people of Europe first became acquainted with the continents of North and South America, they found them inhabited by a race of men unlike any of the races with which they were familiar in the old world. Between the various tribes of this aboriginal American race, except in the sub-arctic region, there is now seen to be a physical likeness, such as to constitute an American type of mankind as clearly recog-

nizable as those types which we call Mongolian and Malay, though far less pronounced than such types as the Australian or Negro. The most obvious characteristics possessed in common by the American aborigines are the copper-colored or rather the cinnamon-colored complexion, along with the high cheek bones and small, deep-set eyes, the straight black hair, and absence or scantiness of beard.

With regard to stature, length of limbs, massiveness of frame, and shape of skull, considerable divergencies may be noticed among the various American tribes, as indeed is also the case among the members of the white race in Europe, and of other races. With regard to culture the differences have been considerable, although, with two or three apparent but not real exceptions, there was nothing in pre-Columbian America that could be properly called civilization; the general condition of the people ranged all the way from savagery to barbarism of a high type.

— *John Fiske.*

An evil day came upon us. Your fathers crossed the great water, and landed on this island. Their numbers were small. They found friends, and not enemies. They told us they had fled from their own country for fear of wicked men, and had come here to enjoy their religion. They asked for a small seat. We took pity on them; granted their request; and they sat down amongst us. We gave them corn and meat; they gave us poison in return.

— *Red Jacket* (1805).

Give some further account of the Indians.

The Indians were a barbarous, nomadic people, divided into tribes which were often at war with

each other. They had no written language, no schools nor churches, no central government. They had crude ideas of religion, and were frequently cruel in war, but they were hospitable, and received the white invaders of their country kindly. They were well treated by Roger Williams, William Penn, and George Washington, but often suffered injustice and wrong from their white neighbors, and from the government.

Two centuries ago, the smoke of their wigwams and the fires of their councils rose in every valley from Hudson's Bay to the furthest Florida, from the ocean to the Mississippi and the lakes. The shouts of victory and the war dance rang through the mountains and the glades. The thick arrows and the deadly tomahawk whistled through the forests; and the hunter's trace and the dark encampment startled the wild beasts in their lairs. The warriors stood forth in their glory. The young listened to the songs of other days. The mothers played with their infants, and gazed on the scene with warm hopes of the future. The aged sat down; but they wept not. They should soon be at rest in fairer regions, where the Great Spirit dwelt, in a home prepared for the brave, beyond the western skies. Braver men never lived; truer men never drew the bow. They had courage, and fortitude, and sagacity, and perseverance beyond most of the human race. They shrank from no dangers, and they feared no hardships. If they had the vices of savage life, they had the virtues also. They were true to their country, their friends, and their homes. If they forgave not injury, neither did they forget kindness. If their vengeance was terrible, their fidelity and generosity

were unconquerable also. Their love, like their hate, stopped not on this side of the grave.
—*Joseph Story.*

With a strength of character and a reach of intellect unknown in any other race of absolute savages, the Indian united many traits, some of them honorable and some degrading to humanity, which made him formidable in his enmity, and at all times a dangerous neighbor; cruel, implacable, treacherous, yet not without a few of the better qualities of the heart and the head; a being of contrasts, violent in his passions, hasty in his anger, fixed in his revenge, yet cool in counsel, seldom betraying his plighted honor, hospitable, sometimes generous. A few names have stood out among them, which, with the culture of civilization, might have been shining stars on the lists of recorded fame. Philip, Pontiac, Sassacus, if the genius of another Homer were to embalm their memory, might rival the Hectors and Agamemnons of heroic renown, scarcely less savage, not less sagacious or brave.

—*Jared Sparks.*

See our William Penn, with weaponless hands, sitting down peaceably with his followers in the midst of savage nations, whose only occupation was shedding the blood of their fellow-men, disarming them by his justice, and teaching them, for the first time, to view a stranger without distrust. See them bury their tomahawks in his presence, so deep that man shall never be able to find them again. See them, under the shade of the thick groves of Quaquannock, extend the bright chain of friendship, and solemnly promise to preserve it as long as the sun and moon shall endure. See him, then, with his companions, establishing his commonwealth on the sole basis of religion, morality, and universal love, and adopting, as the

fundamental maxims of his government, the rule handed down to us from heaven, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men." — *Peter S. Duponceau.*

The coming of the white people made great changes in the Indian life. The furs and skins, which the Indians did not value, except for necessary clothing, were articles of luxury and ornament of great value in Europe. Many a half-starved Indian was clothed in furs that a European prince would have prized. The savage readily exchanged his beautiful beaver coat for a bright colored blanket and thought he had made a good bargain, though his furs were worth to the white man the price of many blankets. The Indians of the region about Boston were pleased with the trinkets which the Plymouth Pilgrims brought them on a trading trip, and the Indian women even made themselves garments out of boughs and leaves, like Mother Eve, that they might trade their jackets of beaver skin to the white people for knickknacks.

The white settlers generally bought the land they occupied from the Indians. As land was not worth much, the price paid was trifling. Manhattan Island, on which New York now stands, was sold to the Dutch, by the Indians, for about twenty dollars in trading wares. The land sales made trouble, for the lines were not well defined, and were often matters of dispute. The Indians did not understand business, and they sometimes had to be paid over and over again for a tract of land.

— *Edward Eggleston.*

The treatment of the Indians reflects little credit on the Western settlers who have come in contact with them, and almost as little on the Federal government, whose efforts to protect them have been often foiled by the faults of its own

agents, or by its own want of promptitude and foresight. But the wish of the people at large has always been to deal with the aborigines generously as well as uprightly, nor have appeals on their behalf ever failed to command the sympathy and assent of the country.

— *James Bryce.*

Oh! why does the white man follow my path,
Like the hound on the tiger's track?
Does the flush on my dark cheek waken his wrath,—
Does he covet the bow at my back?

He has rivers and seas, where the billows and breeze
Bear riches for him alone;
And the sons of the wood never plunge in the flood,
Which the white man calls his own.

Why, then, should he come to the streams where none
But the red man dares to swim?
Why, why should he wrong the hunter,—one
Who never did harm to him?

The Father above thought fit to give
The white man corn and wine;
There are golden fields where he may live,
But the forest shades are mine.

The eagle hath its place of rest;
The wild horse—where to dwell;
And the Spirit that gave the bird its nest,
Made me a home as well.

Then back! go back from the red man's track;
For the hunter's eyes grow dim,
To find that the white man wrongs the one
Who never did harm to him.

— *Eliza Cook.*

What is the present policy of the Government in dealing with the Indians?

General Grant, while President, adopted in 1870 what is called the "Peace Policy" and sought to treat the Indians justly and kindly. Largely through the efforts of Henry L. Dawes, then a United States Senator from Massachusetts, the Government has enabled them to become citizens, and has made liberal provision for educating their children and youth. The more than twenty-one thousand Indian pupils now in school, fed, instructed, and well cared for, growing up in the full enjoyment of all the privileges of the civilization of the nineteenth century, may well contrast their lot with that of those children of the forest whom Columbus found when he discovered the continent, and thank the great Father who guided to our shores the frail bark of the bold navigator.

The policy under which we are acting is just fifteen years old; and what has been accomplished in that time? The first sum that the United States ever took out of its own money for the education of the Indian was put at the disposal of the Indian Commissioner in the year 1878, and it was twenty thousand dollars. The next year it was thirty thousand dollars, the next sixty thousand, and last year it was two millions. and a quarter.

In that fifteen years the United States Treasury has appropriated about seventeen million dollars for the education

of the Indian and in recognition of his rights in this land. The people of the United States have forced Congress in that time to make one third of that race citizens of the United States, with all the rights, privileges, and immunities, and subject to all the obligations, of citizens of the United States. It has opened to them all the courts, guaranteed to their heirs, according to the statutes of the states in which they live, the descent of their property, defined the marriage relation, defined the legitimacy of their children. It has put one third of them all, in these fifteen years, on an equality in every respect with us, so that they enjoy the rights which you and I enjoy.

Does anybody tell me that any other undertaking, depending upon an association of labor and the agitation of issues, has accomplished more in the last fifteen years than this work? If so, I should like to know what it is.

— *Henry L. Dawes.*

The wild West and the buffalo are no more; the Indian is in our midst; he cannot escape; we hold him in the hollow of our hand, and can do with him as we will. We have abundant resources. There exists but this alternative: We can promptly give him a sound education, calculated to fit him for the duties of civilized life,—such an education as Hampton, Carlisle, and similar schools give their pupils; protect him during his days of pupilage from the swift, destructive current of white cupidity, and then allow him to fade naturally into the prevailing color of our civilization; or we may cling to our old plan of indifference and procrastination, the government yielding to the incessant demand for Indian removals, adopting no broad, consistent, and permanent policy of education and administration.

The result of the latter course will be to convert our Indian population of 250,000 into gypsy-like vagrants, beggars, and prostitutes, to curse and pollute the border population with whom they mingle. This is the inevitable result which will follow when the present island reservations of the Indians have melted into the sea of white civilization which beats upon them from British America to Mexico and from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific. — *Herbert Welsh.*

Missionary work among the Indians requires great patience, and it will not do suddenly to require of those who are but children in civilized industries the full work of men. But ideals of Christianity do apply to all races, and do take hold on them; and this is the glory of it. If anything is borne in on the hearts of the women who study this Indian question, it is that Christianity is meant for this life. It is to apply to all the needs of every day. If it will not touch the Indian question and meet all its demands it is not what we need. Although fifteen years in Indian work, I am every day more and more impressed with the results of the simple application of Christian principles to the management of Indian affairs. The Indian question is not the difficult thing it is thought to be. — *Amelia S. Quinton.*

Nothing is more clear than that the Indians should be educated universally and by compulsion. This is justified in their case, if in any. Nothing is more sure than that they ought to be compelled, whenever possible, to speak the English language, and that they ought to have a chance to be educated on higher lines where they are fit for it. Nothing is wiser and sounder than the proposition that the Indian should, after receiving his education, choose his home anywhere in the United States.

The Indian, like you and me, should be taught — and that is what I teach him — to go where he can make his life count for the most. If he can go out to any agency, and do most good there as a light and influence among his people, I advise him to go. If he can stay in the East, and do most good among the whites, I advise him to stay here. Let him do as he likes, let him follow his best light, and he will not go wrong.

The Indians who have been educated show that they are doing about the right thing. Ask any intelligent one how he can make the best use of the light God has given him, and he will give you a good answer. — *Samuel C. Armstrong.*

The great forces now at work; land in severalty, with its accompanying dissolution of the tribal relation and breaking up of the reservation; the destruction of the agency system; citizenship, and all that belongs thereto of manhood, — independence, privilege and duty; education, which seeks to bring the young Indians into right relationship with the age in which they live, and to put into their hands the tools by which they may gain for themselves food and clothing and build for themselves homes, will, if allowed to continue undisturbed a reasonable length of time, accomplish their magnificent ends. They should be fostered, strengthened, maintained, and allowed to operate.

Other forces, scarcely less powerful than these, namely, the progress of our own civilization, which is invading the reservations and surrounding the Indians on every side, the progress of Christianity through the active missionary efforts of the churches, the changed conditions which have forced upon the Indians themselves the necessity of greater efforts towards self-help and improvement, combine and coöperate with the

organized efforts of the government to bring about their uplifting.

How long it will take for the work to be completed, depends partly upon the wisdom of Congress when making necessary laws, partly upon the will of the Executive in making appointments and giving direction to Indian affairs, partly upon the fidelity and intelligence of agents and others chosen to superintend the work, partly upon the vigor and efficiency of the schools and those employed to teach industries, partly upon the zeal of Christian churches and humanitarians, and largely upon the spirit of those of our people who find themselves in face to face relationship with Indian families and individuals on the reservations and elsewhere. It is not safe to prophesy, and in view of the past hundred years it may be unwise to predict, yet I will venture to say it is possible, before the close of the present century, to carry this matter so far towards its final consummation, as to put it beyond the range of anxiety.

Not everything can be accomplished within that time, but enough can be done, so that the Commissioner who writes the seventieth annual report can speak of the Indian solution instead of the Indian problem.

— *T. J. M.*

THE COLONISTS.



LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS AT PLYMOUTH, MASS.

*Here, on this rock, and on this sterile soil,
Began the kingdom not of kings, but men ;
Began the making of the world again.
Here centuries sank, and from the hither brink
A new world reached and raised an old-world link,
When English hands, by wider vision taught,
Threw down the feudal bars the Normans brought,
And here revived, in spite of sword and stake,
Their ancient freedom of the Wapentake.
Here struck the seed — the Pilgrims' roofless town,
Where equal rights and equal bonds were set ;
Where all the people equal-franchised met ;
Where doom was writ of privilege and crown ;
Where human breath blew all the idols down ;
Where crests were naught, where vulture flags were furled,
And common men began to own the world !*

— JOHN BOYLE O'REILLY.

THE COLONISTS.

Describe the Era of Colonization.

It began with the landing in North America of the first permanent European settlers in the early part of the seventeenth century, and it covered a century and a half. It was a period of extreme toil, hardship, suffering, adventure, courage, and triumph. No portion of our history has more romance and heroism, and none is more worthy of study, or more helpful to patriotism.

I deem it a great thing for a nation, in all the periods of its fortunes, to be able to look back to a race of founders, and a principle of institution in which it might rationally admire the realized idea of true heroism. That felicity, that pride, that help, is ours.

— *Rufus Choate.*

Our fathers have been ridiculed as an uncouth and uncourtly generation. And it must be admitted that they were not as expert in the graces of dress and the etiquette of the drawing room, as some of their descendants. But neither could these have felled the trees, nor guided the plow, nor spread the sail, which they did; nor braved the dangers of Indian war-

fare; nor displayed the wisdom in counsel which our fathers displayed; and, had none stepped upon the Plymouth rock but such effeminate critics as these, the poor natives never would have mourned their wilderness lost, but would have brushed them from the land as they would brush the puny insect from their faces; the Pequods would have slept in safety that night which was their last, and no intrepid Mason had hung upon their rear, and driven into exile the panic-struck fugitives.

— *Lyman Beecher.*

Behold! they come, those sainted forms,
Unshaken through the strife of storms;
Heaven's winter cloud hangs coldly down,
And earth puts on its rudest frown;
But colder, ruder, was the hand
That drove them from their own fair land;
Their own fair land, — refinement's chosen seat,
Art's trophied dwelling, learning's green retreat,
By valor guarded, and by victory crowned,
For all but gentle charity renowned.

With streaming eye, yet steadfast heart
Even from that land they dared to part,
And burst each tender tie;
Haunts where their sunny youth was passed,
Homes where they fondly hoped at last
In peaceful age to die,
Friends, kindred, comfort, all they spurned, —
Their fathers' hallowed graves, —
And to a world of darkness turned,
Beyond a world of waves. — *Charles Sprague.*

Ah, when the heroes of that time
Are numbered on God's book sublime,

High on the roll of that true fame
Many a gentle woman's name,
Which earth had cared not to record,
Shall stand writ "Valiant for the Lord."

— *Elizabeth Beecher Hooker.*

What were the early settlers of America called ?

Colonists, because they founded the Colonies,—Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. These afterwards became the thirteen original states.

New England was first planted by adventurers, who left England, their native country, by permission of King Charles the First, and at their own expense transported themselves to America, and, with great risk and difficulty, settled among the savages, and, in a very surprising manner, formed new colonies in the wilderness. Before their departure, the terms of their freedom and the relation they should stand in to the mother country, were fully settled. They were to remain subject to the king, and dependent on the kingdom of Great Britain. In return they were to receive protection, and enjoy all the rights and privileges of freeborn Englishmen.

— *Stephen Hopkins.*

When, in the reign of George III., troubles arose between England and her North American colonists, there existed along the eastern coast of the Atlantic thirteen little communities, the largest of which (Virginia) had not much more than half

a million of people, and the total population of which did not reach three millions. All owned allegiance to the British crown; all, except Connecticut and Rhode Island, received their governors from the crown; in all, causes were carried by appeal from the colonial courts to the English Privy Council.

— *James Bryce.*

That which more than all things else determined the future of this country was the number of colonies, together with their general similarity and their important differences. If there could have been one vast colony, under one government, extending along the whole line of coast from the French possessions to the Spanish settlements in Florida, it might have been strong and prosperous possibly, but the present United States would not have grown up on such a foundation. There was a necessity of just such a series of colonies as were actually planted, all animated by a common English feeling and speaking the common English tongue, yet settled for different reasons and, in a course of many years of self-government, developed into different entities, as well as having distinctive characteristics.

— *Theodore D. Woolsey.*

Where did the Colonists come from?

They came from different European countries, chiefly from England. The basis of our civilization is Anglo-Saxon.

The Anglo-Saxon is the representative of two great ideas, which are closely related. One of them is that of civil liberty. Nearly all of the civil liberty of the world is enjoyed

by Anglo-Saxons: the English, the British colonists, and the people of the United States. — *Josiah Strong.*

You are blood from England! bone from its bone, and flesh from its flesh. The Anglo-Saxon race was the kernel around which gathered this glorious fruit, your Republic. Every other nationality is oppressed. It is the Anglo-Saxon alone which stands high in its independence. You, the younger brother, are entirely free, because republican. They, the elder brother, are monarchical, but they have a constitution, and they have many institutions which even you retain, and by retaining them have proved that they are institutions which are congenial to freedom and dear to freemen. The free press, the jury, free speech, the freedom of association, and the institution of municipalities, the share of the people in the legislature, are English institutions; the inviolability of the person and the inviolability of property are English principles.

— *Louis Kossuth.*

The Pilgrim fathers fled from persecution in England to religious liberty in Massachusetts. The Highlanders who fought for Prince Charles Edward Stuart found refuge in North Carolina. The Quakers, to be free from their tormentors, sailed to Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and they received there with open arms the Germans driven from the Palatinate by Louis XIV. The Huguenots, escaping from France after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, built happy homes on the Hudson, and under the shelter of the groves of South Carolina. Oglethorpe led the Teutons, seeking an opportunity to worship God according to their lights, from Salzburg to Georgia. Irishmen, saved from the merciless conquests of Cromwell, scattered all over the land to consecrate their altars and enjoy in safety their religion. Dutch Prot-

estants came to New York, Swedish Protestants to Delaware, English Catholics to Maryland, and the English Church cavaliers to Virginia.

— *Chauncey M. Depew.*

The Pilgrims who settled Plymouth had lived twelve years in Holland. The Puritans who settled Massachusetts had all their lives been exposed to a Netherland influence, and some of their leaders had also lived in Holland. Thomas Hooker, coming from Holland, gave life to Connecticut, which has been well called the typical American commonwealth. Roger Williams, who founded Rhode Island, was so much of a Dutch scholar that he taught the language to the poet Milton. Penn, who founded Pennsylvania, was half a Dutchman. New York and New Jersey were settled by the Dutch West India Company. Pennsylvania, which contributed largely to American institutions, Delaware, and New Jersey were settled by men of diverse nationalities, so that at the outbreak of the Revolution probably only a minority of their inhabitants were of English origin. In addition, all through the other colonies were scattered large numbers of Scotch-Irish, French Huguenots, Germans, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, and Swedes, counted as English, but essentially modifying the mass of the population and the national type.

— *Douglas Campbell.*

What prompted the Colonists to leave their native lands to settle in the wilderness and brave the hardships of a new country?

They were impelled by a great variety of motives, some good, some bad. Love of adventure, desire for

gold, curiosity, and a wish to better their worldly fortunes by the opportunities offered in a new country, prompted many. Others were influenced by a desire for greater civil and religious liberty, which they believed could be more easily attained in America than at home.

We thought we might more glorify God, do more good to our country, better provide for our posterity, and live to be more refreshed by our labors than ever we could do in Holland, where we were.

— *Edward Winslow.*

The English colonists in America, generally speaking, were men who were seeking new homes in a new world. They brought with them their families and all that was most dear to them. This was especially the case with the colonists of Plymouth and Massachusetts. Many of them were educated men, and all possessed their full share, according to their social condition, of the knowledge and attainments of that age.

— *Daniel Webster.*

Look at the people of New England. From Britain, their fathers had fled to America for religion's sake. Religion had taught them that God created men to be happy; that to be happy they must have virtue; that virtue is not to be attained without knowledge, nor knowledge without instruction, nor public instruction without free schools, nor free schools without legislative order.

— *Francis Marion.*

Individuals, led on by an ambitious desire to improve their personal fortunes, have abandoned the home of their fathers. None of these motives prompted the Huguenot ancestors of the people of Carolina to leave the delightful hills and valleys of

their native France. They were no instruments in the hands of ambitious princes for the increase of their wealth or power. They did not seek a home in America through mere love of adventure, or the ordinary inducements of pecuniary gain. They sought an asylum from persecution, a home in which they might enjoy, unmolested, the sweets of political and personal liberty. They longed to bear away their altars and their faith to a land of real freedom, a land allowing free scope to the exercise of conscience in worship of their Maker.

— *William C. Moragne.*

What sought they thus afar? Bright jewels of the mine?
The wealth of seas, the spoils of war? — They sought a faith's
pure shrine!

Ay, call it holy ground, the soil where first they trod!
They have left unstained what there they found, — freedom to
worship God!

— *Felicia D. Hemans.*

Who were the Pilgrims?

The Pilgrims were English people; some, having fled from their native country to Holland to escape religious persecution, came to America (the first party of them in the *Mayflower*), landing at Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620.

The compact signed in the cabin of the *Mayflower* tells the story of their coming hither. A band of exiles, three thousand miles of ocean separating them from the land of their nativity, and the unknown and unexplored wilds of New England to be from thence and forevermore their home, they

declare the purpose of their coming "to plant a colony for the glory of God, the advancement of the Christian faith, and the honor of their king." No sordid purpose is here disclosed. In these words and lofty sentiments we read their future history.

— *Waldo Hutchins.*

In the name of God, Amen; We, whose names are under-written, the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland King, defender of the faith, etc., haveing undertaken, for the glorie of God, and advancemente of the Christian faith and honor of our king and countrie, a voyage to plant the first colonie in the Northerne parts of Virginia, doe, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civill body politick, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and, by vertue heareof, to enacte, constitute, and frame, such just and equall laws, ordenances, acts, constitutions and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for the generall good of the Colonie. Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnes whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names, at Cap Codd, the 11th of November, in the year of the raigne of our soveraigne lord, King James, of England, France, and Ireland the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, Anno Domini, 1620.

— *The Mayflower Compact.*

Methinks I see it now, that one solitary, adventurous vessel, the *Mayflower* of a forlorn hope, freighted with the prospects of a future state, and bound across the unknown sea. I behold it pursuing, with a thousand misgivings, the uncertain, the tedious voyage. Suns rise and set, and weeks and months

pass, and winter surprises them on the deep, but brings them not the sight of the wished-for shore. I see them now scantily supplied with provisions; crowded almost to suffocation in their ill-stored prison; delayed by calms, pursuing a circuitous route, and now driven in fury before the raging tempest, on the high and giddy waves. The awful voice of the storm howls through the rigging. The laboring masts seem straining from their base; the dismal sound of the pumps is heard; the ship leaps, as it were, madly, from billow to billow; the ocean breaks and settles with engulfing floods over the floating deck, and beats with deadening, shivering weight against the staggered vessel. I see them, escaped from these perils, pursuing their all but desperate undertaking, and landing at last, after five months' passage, on the ice-clad rocks of Plymouth, weak and weary from the voyage, poorly armed, scantily provisioned, depending on the charity of their shipmaster for a draught of beer on board, drinking nothing but water on shore, without shelter, without means, surrounded by hostile tribes.

— *Edward Everett.*

The voyage of the *Mayflower*; the landing; the slow winter's night of disease and famine in which so many, the good, the beautiful, the brave, sank down and died, giving place at last to the spring-dawn of health and plenty,—come before us. The meeting with the old red race on the hill beyond the brook; the treaty of peace unbroken for half a century; the organization of a republican form of government in the *Mayflower's* cabin; the planting of these kindred, coeval, and auxiliary institutions, without which such a government could no more live than the uprooted tree can put forth leaf and flower,—come before us. And with these come institutions to diffuse pure religion, good learning, austere morality, plain liv-

ing, and high thinking; the laying deep and sure, far down on the Rock of Ages, the foundation-stone of that imperial structure whose dome now swells towards Heaven. — *Rufus Choate.*

New occasions teach new duties; time makes ancient good uncouth;

They must upward still, and onward, who would keep abreast with truth;

Lo, before us gleam her camp-fires! we ourselves must Pilgrims be,

Launch our *Mayflower*, and steer boldly through the desperate winter sea,

Nor attempt the future's portal with the past's blood-rusted key.

— *James Russell Lowell.*

Who were the Puritans?

They, too, were English colonists who, dissatisfied with the established church, sought to maintain in New England, — where they were in the majority, — a simple, consecrated, rigorous religious life. They emphasized individualism.

The Pilgrims who came over in the *Mayflower* were mainly equipped with ideas and household furniture, but the twenty thousand Puritans who came after, brought with them five hundred thousand pounds. It has been estimated that the equivalent would be in our time not less than fifteen million dollars. The history of immigration may be searched in vain for any parallel. These people were led by graduates of Oxford and Cambridge. They were educated and prosperous beyond the mass of their countrymen. There were no idlers,

nor paupers, nor lepers, nor anarchists among them. They were one and all workers. They came to find homes and build a state.

— *Chauncey M. Depew.*

Puritans, so named from their demand for purity in the worship of God and in the administration of Christ's ordinances.

— *Leonard Bacon.*

One wishes there were a history of English Puritanism, the last of all our Heroisms. Few nobler Heroisms, at bottom perhaps no nobler Heroism ever transacted itself on this Earth.

— *Thomas Carlyle.*

The strength of a cause under God is the number of people who plant themselves down, flat-footed and square-toed, on distinct moral ground, in burning love to men, in consuming loyalty to God, and with a prophetic grip on the great years that are coming. If this style of appeal lies suspiciously close to the tone of old Puritanism, all I care to say is, would to God we had about ten thousand Puritan thoroughbreds scattered all the way from Chicago to Manhattan Island! There would be a shock in our social, our religious, our national, and our municipal life that would send off divergent lines of earthquake to the four quarters, and set the ground quivering clear through to China.

— *Charles H. Parkhurst.*

What is the especial distinction of the Pilgrims and the Puritans?

They were the founders of the New England civilization, and have had a very great influence in the development of our national character.

The principles of New England spread at first to the neighboring states; then they passed successively to the more distant ones; and at length they imbued the whole confederation. They now extend their influence beyond its limits over the whole American world. The civilization of New England has been like a beacon lit upon a hill, which, after it has diffused its warmth around, tinges the distant horizon with its glow.

— *Alexis C. H. C. de Tocqueville.*

The New England stock, strong of arms, hard of head, stout and warm of heart, have left an impression, strong and clear, on every page of our nation's history, whether in peace or war, whose traces may be found on every valley in our country, on the slopes or in the recesses of our every mountain range, by the shores of every lake, and along all the great seas that wash the vast continent which it is ours to occupy and develop.

— *George B. McClellan.*

The Puritans were men of results. They were successful in their undertakings. They cast down the despotism of the Stuarts and saved parliamentary government in England. They were the best soldiers and the best sailors, the best colonists and the most prosperous merchants of their day. Their marks are carved deep in the history of the English-speaking people. You may see them still, even in external things. The Sunday observance of the English-speaking race is the Puritan Sabbath, and the New England Thanksgiving has become a national holiday.

— *Henry Cabot Lodge.*

In 1647, when a few scattered and feeble settlements, almost buried in the depths of the forest, were all that constituted the colony of Massachusetts; when the entire population consisted of twenty-one thousand souls; when the external means

of the people were small, their dwellings humble, and their raiment and subsistence scanty and homely; when the whole valuation of all the colonial estates, both public and private, would hardly equal the inventory of many a private individual at the present day; when the fierce eye of the savage was nightly seen glaring from the edge of the surrounding wilderness and no defense was at hand: it was then, amid all these privations and dangers, that the Pilgrim fathers conceived the magnificent idea of a free and universal education for the people. And amid all their poverty they stinted themselves to a still scantier pittance; amid all their toils they imposed upon themselves still more burdensome labors; amid all their perils they braved still greater dangers, that they might find the time and the means to reduce their grand conception to practice.

— *Horace Mann.*

All the early settlers of New England paid great attention to instructing their children; first at home, or in the ministers' houses, and then in public schools. In 1647, the Massachusetts Colony passed a law providing that every township of fifty householders should appoint a schoolmaster to teach the children to read and write; and that his wages should be paid by the parents, or the public at large, according to the decision of the majority of the inhabitants. By 1665 every town in Massachusetts had a common school, and, if it contained over one hundred inhabitants, a grammar school. The other New England colonies followed in the wake of Massachusetts. In Connecticut every town that did not keep a school for three months in the year was liable to a fine. Meantime the Dutch had established free schools in New York. This was the beginning of the educational system of the United States. Her system of free public high schools is a growth of democ-

racy which has been as yet achieved in none of the older countries. France and Germany have some high schools assisted by the state, but America is the only country in the world where the principle is fully recognized that every person is entitled to receive a thorough and complete education at the public charge. — *Douglas Campbell.*

What institutions did the New England Colonists especially cherish?

The Family, the School, the Church, the Town Meeting, Trial by Jury, and the Representative Legislature. Our system of free public schools, now national, originated in New England.

They planted the church and the schoolhouse side by side to strengthen and quicken each other; and, though they were narrow and shortsighted enough, God willed that their intolerance and their bigotry should be in their left hand, while in their right they held the torch which should finally light the way for the weakest and humblest child in the state to find the truth that alone can make him free. That beacon light was the public school. Knowledge and faith were the banner words of our ancestors in the then new world.

— *James H. Canfield.*

That tenacity of purpose with which a few settlers in the wilderness held on to the idea of a liberal education, in spite of their scanty crops and scantier libraries, their wide separation from the old-world seats of learning, and their lack of professional teachers, is one of the noblest of many noble traits

possessed by our forefathers, who were never so weary or so poor that they could not keep alive the altar fires in the temples of religion and of learning. — *Daniel C. Gilman.*

Two divine ideas filled their great hearts: their duty to God and to posterity. For the one they built the church; for the other they opened the school. Religion and knowledge! Two attributes of the same glorious and eternal truth, and that truth the only one on which immortal or mortal happiness can be securely founded. — *Horace Mann.*

Trial by jury is a guarantee of liberty in giving the people a participation in the administration of justice, without the ruin and horrors of an administration of justice by a multitude, as it was in Athens. The jury is, moreover, the best school of the citizen, both for teaching him his rights and how to protect them, and for practically teaching him the necessity of law and government. — *Francis Lieber.*

Men of New England, preserve the schoolhouse and the town meeting. The country owes you much. If your blood does not course through all our veins, your civilization runs everywhere throughout the Republic.

“ Hold fast to your Puritan heritage
But let the free light of the age
Its life, its hope, and sweetness add
To the sterner faith your father had.”

— *William McKinley.*

The republican spirit of self-government grew up under the influence of a number of free institutions, even while the colonies were yet under the English rule. The most important of these institutions were: —

Inherited traditional protection of personal freedom by the

law against arbitrary imprisonment; the right of assembly and the right of petition, as they were developed in the English common law.

The right of trial by jury in civil and criminal cases.

The assembling of free men within the town and county, and at first also within the colony, to discuss and take measures concerning matters of general interest.

When the colonies increased in population, the election of representative assemblies, to coöperate in statutory legislation, in the imposition of taxes, and in exercising a control over the administration.

The participation of prominent citizens in administrative councils, which, together with the governor, looked after public affairs.

The early creation of common schools and the making of education general.

The militia system, in opposition to standing armies.

Self-taxation, and the refusal to recognize taxes imposed by authority alone.

— *Johann K. Bluntschli.*

In what way have the Pilgrims and Puritans influenced our civilization?

They had positive convictions, expressed their opinions with force and persistency, and confirmed them by their example. They were religious, courageous, industrious, thrifty, self-reliant, and had a genius for self-government. These marked traits of character created a lasting public sentiment, and gave form to enduring institutions.

They live in all that perpetuates the remembrance of men on earth; in the recorded proofs of their own great actions, in the offspring of their intellect, in the deep engraved lines of public gratitude, and in the respect and homage of mankind. They live in their example; and they live, emphatically, and will live in the influence which their lives and efforts, their principles and opinions, now exercise, and will continue to exercise, on the affairs of men, not only in their own country, but throughout the civilized world. — *Daniel Webster.*

When the Pilgrims at Plymouth laid down the law of self-government, and agreed that every man should have his rights in the colony, and that the governor should be chosen by the people and not appointed by the crown; and chose John Carver governor, because he had the respect of the people, and because they knew that he was honest, and because they knew he was a religious man and a Christian, and because he set a good example to the boys and old men, it was they who set the example which all America has followed; it was they who inspired that great vital force which lies at the foundation of our Republic.

— *George B. Loring.*

Our fathers brought with them from England two priceless possessions — the common law and King James' Bible — the former a vital organism, not of symmetrical form and graceful outline, but full of the vigorous sap of liberty and drawing its growth from the soil of the popular heart — the latter, apart from its transcendent claims as the revelation of God to man, in a purely intellectual aspect the most precious treasure that any modern nation enjoys, preserving as it does our noble language at its best point of growth — just between antique ruggedness and modern refinement — embalming immortal truths in words simple, strong, and sweet, that charm the

child at the mother's knee, that nerve and calm the soldier in the dread half-hour before the shock of battle, that comfort and sustain the soul that is entering upon the valley of the shadow of death. The progress of our country is not traced by the camp, the café, the theater, and the prison, but by the meetinghouse, the schoolhouse, the courthouse, and the ballot box — all the legitimate fruits of the common Bible and the common law.

— *George S. Hillard.*

The founders of Plymouth set up a religious community with commercial purposes. The founders of New Amsterdam set up a commercial community with religious principles. Both carried the same Bible and worshiped the same God; and they have handed down to us traditions of religious fidelity and commercial integrity which we shall do well to honor. Let us see to it that amid the broadening of our enterprises and the increase of our wealth, we do not lose those principles of uprightness and strict justice and old-fashioned honor which made the merchants of New York and New England respected and renowned. Above all, let us remember with pride and loyalty that we are Americans.

— *J. H. Van Dyke.*

They took with them the principles which have secured absolute freedom of religious thought, and made our kin beyond the sea the freest of all the peoples earth has known.

— *A. M. Fairbairn.*

Describe the growth of Liberty among the colonies.

They were entirely independent of each other, and were separated from England, the seat of govern-



NIAGARA FALLS

Our country, 'tis a glory
 With broad arms stretch'd
 The proud Pacific chafes
 She hears the dark Atlantic
 And, nurtured on her arms
 How many a goodly product
 In Nature's wildest grandeur
 Enameled with her loveliest

is willing to preserve the greatest of human blessings, his liberty, has the pleasure of beholding himself a link.

— *James Wilson* (1775).

The time will certainly come when the fated separation between the mother country and these colonies must take place, whether you will or no, for it is so decreed by the very nature of things, by the progressive increase of our population, the fertility of our soil, the extent of our territory, the industry of our countrymen, and the immensity of the ocean which separates the two countries.

And if this be true, as it is most true, who does not see that the sooner it takes place the better? — that it would be the height of folly not to seize the present occasion, when British injustice has filled all hearts with indignation, inspired all minds with courage, united all opinions in one, and put arms in every hand? And how long must we traverse three thousand miles of a stormy sea to solicit of arrogant and insolent men either counsel, or commands to regulate our domestic affairs? From what we have already achieved it is easy to presume what we shall hereafter accomplish. Experience is the source of sage counsels, and liberty is the mother of great men. Have you not seen the enemy driven from Lexington by citizens armed and assembled in one day? Already their most celebrated generals have yielded in Boston to the skill of ours. Already their seamen, repulsed from our coasts, wander over the ocean, the sport of tempests and the prey of famine. Let us hail the favorable omen, and fight, not for the sake of knowing on what terms we are to be the slaves of England, but to secure to ourselves a free existence, to found a just and independent government.

— *Richard H. Lee* (1776).

In 1760 there was an attempt in Boston to collect duties on foreign sugar and molasses imported into the colonies. Writs of assistance were applied for by the customhouse officers authorizing them to break open ships, stores, and private dwellings, in quest of articles that had paid no duty; and to call the assistance of others in the discharge of their odious task. The merchants opposed the execution of the writ on constitutional grounds. The question was argued in court, where James Otis spoke so eloquently in vindication of American rights, that all his hearers went away ready to take up arms against writs of assistance. "Then and there," says John Adams, who was present, "was the first scene of opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain. Then and there American Independence was born." — *John Fiske.*

Was the spirit of Liberty confined to any one colony?

No, it existed in different degrees in all of them, making itself especially manifest in Massachusetts and Virginia.

The voice of Patrick Henry from the mountains answered that of James Otis by the sea. Paul Revere's lantern shone along through the valley of the Hudson, and flashed along the cliffs of the Blue Ridge. The scattering volley of Lexington green swelled to the triumphant thunder of Saratoga, and the reverberation of Burgoyne's falling arms in New York shook those of Cornwallis in Virginia from his hands. Doubts, jealousies, prejudices, were merged in one common devotion. The union of the colonies to secure liberty, foretold the union of the states to maintain it, and wherever we stand on Revolu-

tionary fields, or inhale the sweetness of Revolutionary memories, we tread the ground and breathe the air of invincible national union.

— *George W. Curtis.*

Who forgets that while that resistance was first brought to a practical test in New England, at Lexington and Concord and Bunker Hill, Fortune reserved for Yorktown of Virginia the last crowning battle of Independence? Who forgets that while the hand by which the original Declaration of Independence was drafted, was furnished by Virginia, the tongue by which the adoption of that instrument was defended and secured, was furnished by New England, — a bond of common glory, upon which not Death alone seemed to set his seal, but Deity, I had almost said, to affix an immortal sanction, when the spirits by which that hand and voice were moved, were caught up together to the clouds on the same great Day of the Nation's Jubilee.

— *Robert C. Winthrop.*

It was the most remarkable fact of the Revolutionary War and of the formation of state and national governments, that although the colonists were of different lineages and languages, living under different climates, with varied pursuits and forms of labor, cut off from intercourse by distance, yet, in spite of all these obstacles to accord, they were from the outset animated by common views, feelings, and purposes. When the independence was gained, they were able, after a few weeks spent in consultation, to form the Constitution under which we have lived for nearly one hundred years. [1877.] There can be no stronger proof that American institutions were born and shaped by American necessities. This fact should give us new faith in the lasting nature of our government.

— *Horatio Seymour.*

What was the conduct of the South during the Revolution? I honor New England for her conduct in that glorious struggle. But great as is the praise which belongs to her, I think at least equal honor is due to the South. They espoused the quarrel of their brethren, with a generous zeal, which did not suffer them to stop to calculate their interest in the dispute. Favorites of the mother country, possessed of neither ships nor seamen to create a commercial rivalry, they might have found in their situation a guarantee that their trade would be forever fostered and protected by Great Britain. But, trampling on all considerations either of interest or of safety, they rushed into the conflict, and, fighting for principle, periled all in the sacred cause of freedom. — *Robert Y. Hayne.*

Describe the Government of the colonies.

There was considerable variety in the details of government in the several Colonies, but an ever-increasing tendency toward complete republicanism. The growing spirit of liberty was often checked by the arbitrary acts of the king. The common law of England was followed by the courts in the administration of justice.

In all the thirteen states the common law of England remained in force, as it does to this day save where modified by statute. — *John Fiske.*

Common law is an unwritten law which receives its binding force from immemorial usage and universal reception, in dis-

tion from the written or statute law. Its rules or principles are to be found only in the works of institutional writers; in the records of courts, and in the reports of judicial decisions, and it is overruled by the statute law.

— *John W. Clappitt.*

There were three forms of government in America: "royal," "charter," and "proprietary." Each of the thirteen colonies had a legislative body. These were divided into two houses. There was a Lower House, or Assembly, elected by the people. Members of the Upper House, or Council, were elected by the king in the royal colonies, and by the proprietary in the proprietary colonies. In the charter colonies, governors and members of the Council were elected by the Assembly.

— *Edward Eggleston.*

When the time came for the organization of a new government, the people were prepared for a popular form, such as the nation now has. With the exception of Georgia, all the colonies had enjoyed something of a popular form of government, and most of them had felt the satisfaction that results from a legislature elected by the people and responsible to them.

Some of them had even had a double legislature, though in a crude form, the Council being a sort of upper house in some of the colonies. Three had tried a pure democracy, for a time. Most of them, by coöperation with sister colonies, had known by experience that "in union there is strength," and this had been more fully impressed during the struggle for independence. That last great struggle had taught them the necessity for an executive and a judicial department of the government.

The Colonial Congress and the Continental Congresses were felt to have been, as they really were, but committee-

delegates from the colonies for advice. A confederacy had been tried; its defects were found to be serious. The people were prepared for a union of the colonies into a nation, having all the semblance, character, and powers of a nation. The people were prepared, also, to insist, if need be, upon a form of government in which all political power should reside in themselves.

Having tasted, though but daintily, of the sweets of a government free from hereditary rulers, and without the restraints and oppressions of arbitrary authority, they were prepared for a government of the people, to be administered by the people and for the people. We see, as we study the provisions of the Constitution, how they wrought out the idea of nationality and of freedom, which had been growing for more than a century.

—*M. B. C. True.*

THE REVOLUTION.



INDEPENDENCE HALL.

*Through the chances and changes of vanished years
Our thoughts go back to the olden time,
When hearts were thrilling with hopes and fears,
And the Fourth of July was made sublime
By the vow that an earnest people spoke
To free their land from the foreign yoke.*

— LOUISE C. MOULTON.

THE REVOLUTION.

What is meant by the American Revolution?

This phrase describes the third great stage, — the Discovery and Colonization preceding, — in the development of our national life. The English colonies, dependent upon the crown, became an independent republic — the United States of America. The American Revolution signifies the birth of a new nation.

By that Revolution the English nation was divided. It was still one race, but two nations, an instance where to divide was to multiply, and with that event Anglo-Saxon civilization entered upon the conquest of the world. — *John R. Green.*

The founders of our commonwealth conceived that the people of these colonies needed no interception of the supreme control of their own affairs, no conciliations of mere names and images of power from which the pith and vigor of authority had departed. They, therefore, did not hesitate to throw down the partitions of power and right, and break up the distributive shares in authority of ranks and orders of men, which indeed had ruled and advanced the development of society in civil and

religious liberty, but might well be neglected when the protected growth was assured, and all tutelary supervision for this reason henceforth could only be obstructive and incongruous.

— *William M. Evarts.*

The war of the Revolution was inevitable. It was the natural outgrowth of the lives the early settlers lived during the colonial period. It was a time of struggle and dependence — “the childhood of the future nation.” It was the protest of individual liberty and enlightened conscience against arbitrary power.

— *Waldo Hutchins.*

The American Revolution, essaying to unfold the principles which organized its events, and bound to keep faith with the ashes of its heroes, was most radical in its character, yet achieved with such benign tranquillity that even conservatism hesitated to censure. A civil war armed men of the same ancestry against each other, yet for the advancement of the principles of everlasting peace and universal brotherhood. A new plebeian democracy took its place by the side of the proudest empires. Religion was disenthralled from civil institutions; thought obtained for itself free utterance by speech and by the press; industry was commissioned to follow the bent of its own genius; the system of commercial restrictions between states was reprobated and shattered; and the oceans were enfranchised for every peaceful keel. International law was humanized and softened; and a new, milder, and more just maritime code was concerted and enforced. The trade in slaves was branded and restrained. The language of Bacon and Milton of Chatham and Washington, became so diffused that, in every zone, and almost in every longitude, childhood lisps the English as its mother tongue. The equality of all men was declared, personal freedom secured in its complete

individuality, and common consent recognized as the only just origin of fundamental laws, so that in thirteen separate states, with ample territory for creating more, the inhabitants of each formed their own political institutions. By the side of the principle of the freedom of the individual and the freedom of the separate states, the noblest work of human intellect was consummated in a federal union; and that union put away every motive to its destruction by insuring to each successive generation the right to amend its Constitution according to the increasing intelligence of the living people.

— *George Bancroft.*

Give some account of the Declaration of Independence.

On July Fourth, 1776, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the Continental Congress, composed of representatives of the thirteen colonies, adopted a paper written by Thomas Jefferson, known as the Declaration of Independence. Its adoption was heralded by the ringing of the liberty bell, which hung in the tower of Independence Hall.



LIBERTY BELL.

The Declaration ought to be hung up in the nursery of every king, and blazoned on the porch of every palace.

— *Thomas H. Buckle.*

There was a time when the echo of that Bell awoke a world slumbering in tyranny and crime. — *George Lippard.*

The United States is the only country with a known birthday. All the rest began, they know not when, and grew into power, they knew not how. If there had been no Independence Day, England and America combined would not be so great as each actually is. There is no "Republican," no "Democrat" on the Fourth of July, — all are Americans. All feel that their country is greater than party.

— *James G. Blaine.*

It is the day of the year; it is the day of our country; nay, it is the day of the world. It commemorates the period when the only true republican government was ever founded on earth. Ours is a republican government in essence and in spirit, and could it be administered in the very spirit which it contains, and carry out truthfully and correctly the views of its founders, it would be a perfect government; but it is sometimes misgoverned and mismanaged and seems somewhat to fail in the true object for which it was instituted.

— *Hannibal Hamlin.*

Liberty and union, now and forever, one and inseparable, was the constant aspiration of the great men who framed the Declaration, and of Washington and his compeers, who fought the battles of the Union.

— *John Sherman.*

The Declaration of Independence is one of the most solemn and memorable professions of political faith that ever emanated from the leading minds of any country. It has exerted as much influence in foreshadowing the spirit and character of

our Constitution and public policy as *Magna Charta* exercised on the Constitution of Great Britain. — *James Gibbons.*

Not yet was the fighting over and past —
Years more of trial and struggle must be —
But the Nation's life was that day forecast,
And the peace and triumph of 'Eighty-three
With that earlier day must still be wed
When the Declaration first was read —

That day when the people resolved to be free,
And, resolving, knew that the thing was done.
What bootied the struggle yet to be
When the hearts of all men beat as one,
And hand clasped hand, and eyes met eyes,
And lives were ready to sacrifice ?

The years since then have come and sped,
Till their record reaches a hundred and ten ;
And the heroes of those old days are dead ;
But their spirit lives in to-day's young men ;
And never in vain would our country plead
For sons that were ready to die at her need.

— *Louise C. Moulton* (1886).

To have been the instrument of expressing in one brief, decisive act the concentrated will and resolution of a whole family of states ; to have been permitted to give the impress and peculiarity of his own mind to a charter of public right, destined to an importance in the estimation of men equal to anything human ever borne on parchment or expressed in the visible signs of thought, — this is the glory of Thomas Jefferson.

— *Edward Everett.*

What were the contents of the Declaration of Independence?

It consisted of three divisions, —

1. A statement of the doctrine of liberty, as follows : —

“ We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.”

2. A statement of the many tyrannical acts of King George.

3. The following declaration : —

“ We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally

dissolved; and that as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

The Declaration of Independence was, when it occurred, a capital transaction in human affairs; as such it has kept its place in history; as such it will maintain itself while human interest in human institutions shall endure. The scene and the actors, for their profound impression upon the world, at the time and ever since, have owed nothing to dramatic effects, nothing to epical exaggerations. The worth and force that belong to the agents and the action rest wholly on the wisdom, the courage, and the faith that formed and executed the great design, and the potency and permanence of its operation upon the affairs of the world which, as foreseen and legitimate consequences, followed. — *William M. Evarts.*

There are men who see in the Declaration of Independence and the American Revolution, not the reorganization of human society upon a basis of liberty and equality, but a "dodge" of some English colonists who were unwilling to pay their taxes.

It is in vain for demagogism to raise its short arms against the truth of history. The Declaration of Independence stands there. No candid man ever read it without seeing and feeling that every word of it was dictated by deep and earnest thought, and that every sentence of it bears the stamp of philosophic generality. It is the summing up of the results of the philosophical development of the age; the practical embodiment of the progressive ideas, which, far from being confined to the

narrow limits of the English colonies, pervaded the very atmosphere of all civilized countries. — *Carl Schurz.*

The Declaration of Independence! The interest which in that paper has survived the occasion upon which it was issued, the interest which is of every age and every clime, the interest which quickens with the lapse of years, spreads as it grows old, and brightens as it recedes, is in the principles which it proclaims. It was the first solemn declaration, by a nation, of the only legitimate foundation of civil government. It was the cornerstone of a new fabric, destined to cover the surface of the globe. It demolished at a stroke the lawfulness of all governments founded upon conquest. It swept away all the rubbish of accumulated centuries of servitude. It announced in practical form to the world the transcendent truth of the inalienable sovereignty of the people. It proved that the social compact was no figment of the imagination, but a real, solid, and sacred bond of the social union. From the day of this declaration the people of North America were no longer the fragment of a distant empire, imploring justice and mercy from an inexorable master in another hemisphere. They were no longer children, appealing in vain to the sympathies of a heartless mother; no longer subjects, leaning upon the shattered columns of royal promises, and invoking the faith of parchment to secure their rights. They were a nation, asserting as of right, and maintaining by war, its own existence. A nation was born in a day.

“How many ages hence
Shall this, their lofty scene, be acted o’er
In states unborn, and accents yet unknown?”

It will be acted o’er, but it can never be repeated. It stands, and must forever stand, alone; a beacon on the sum-

mit of the mountain, to which all the inhabitants of the earth may turn their eyes for a genial and saving light, till time shall be lost in eternity, and this globe itself dissolve, nor leave a wreck behind. It stands forever, a light of admonition to the rulers of men, a light of salvation and redemption to the oppressed. So long as this planet shall be inhabited by human beings, so long as man shall be of a social nature, so long as government shall be necessary to the great moral purposes of society, so long as it shall be abused to the purposes of oppression, so long shall this Declaration hold out to the sovereign and to the subject the extent and the boundaries of their respective rights and duties, founded in the laws of nature and of nature's God. — *John Quincy Adams.*

What was the immediate result of the Declaration of Independence?

It changed the revolt of the colonies into a war for independence. The king sent large armies to subdue the colonies, but these resisted with great bravery, and, after seven years of hardship, suffering, and many battles, gained their liberty, when peace was declared and they became independent states.

If we wish to be free,—if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending,—if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious

object of our contest shall be obtained, — we must fight; I repeat it, we must fight! An appeal to arms, and to the God of Hosts, is all that is left us. — *Patrick Henry.*

The arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties, being with one mind resolved to die freemen rather than to live slaves. — *The Continental Congress.*

The causes of the Revolution, so fertile a theme of speculation, are less definite than have been imagined. The whole series of colonial events was a continued and accumulating cause. The spirit was kindled in England; it went with Robinson's congregation to Holland; it landed with them at Plymouth; it was the basis of the first constitution of these sage and self-taught legislators; it never left them nor their descendants. It extended to the other colonies, where it met with a kindred impulse, was nourished in every breast, and became rooted in the feelings of the whole people.

— *Jared Sparks.*

You may think me transported with enthusiasm, but I am not. I am well aware of the toil, and blood, and treasure, that it will cost us to maintain this declaration, and support and defend these states. Yet, through all the gloom, I can see the rays of light and glory; I can see that the end is more than worth all the means, and that posterity will triumph, although you and I may rue, which I hope we shall not.

— *John Adams.*

The war of the Americans is a war of passion. It is of such a nature as to be supported by the most powerful virtues, — love of liberty and love of country, — and at the same time

by those passions in the human heart which give courage, strength, and perseverance to man,—the spirit of revenge for the injuries you have done them, of retaliation for the hardships you have inflicted on them, and of opposition to the unjust powers you have exercised over them. Everything combines to animate them to this war; and such a war is without end. Whether it be called obstinacy or enthusiasm, under the name of religion or liberty, the effects are the same. It inspires a spirit which is unconquerable, solicitous to undergo difficulty, danger, and hardship. So long as there is a man in America,—a being formed as we are,—so long will he present himself against you in the field.

— *Charles J. Fox.*

I call the war with our brethren in America an unjust and felonious war, because the primary cause and confessed origin of it is to attempt to take their money from them without their consent, contrary to the common rights of all mankind and to those great fundamental principles of the English constitution for which Hampden bled. I assert that it is a murderous war, because it is an effort to deprive men of their lives for standing up in the defense of their property and their clear rights. Such a war, I fear, will draw down the vengeance of heaven upon this kingdom.

Is any minister weak enough to flatter himself with the conquest of America? You cannot, with all your allies, with all the mercenary ruffians of the North, you cannot effect so wicked a purpose! The Americans will dispute every inch of territory with you, every narrow pass, every strong defile, every Thermopylæ, every Bunker Hill! More than half the empire is already lost, and almost all the rest is in confusion and anarchy. We have appealed to the sword, and what have we gained? Are we to pay as dear for the rest of America?

The idea of the conquest of that immense country is as romantic as it is unjust. — *John Wilkes.*

What heroes from the woodland sprung,
When, from the fresh-awakened land,
The thrilling cry of Freedom rung,
And to the work of warfare strung
The yeoman's iron hand !

Hills flung the cry to hills around,
And ocean-mart replied to mart ;
And streams, whose springs were yet unfound,
Pealed far away the startling sound
Into the forest's heart.

Then marched the brave from rocky steep,
From mountain river swift and cold ;
The borders of the stormy deep,
The vales where gathered waters sleep,
Sent up the strong and bold,

As if the very earth again
Grew quick with God's creating breath,
And from the sods of grove and glen
Rose ranks of lion-hearted men,
To battle to the death. — *William Cullen Bryant.*

Give a brief account of the great hero of the Revolution.

George Washington, a Virginian, the Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army, was distinguished for the excellence of his personal character, his abil-

ity as a soldier, and his wisdom as a statesman. He was twice elected President. The nation's capital is named for him; the Washington Monument is one of the finest structures of the kind in the world; Mount Vernon, his home on the Potomac, is carefully preserved as a Mecca for patriots, and his birthday is kept as a national holiday.

He was the patriot without reproach; he loved his country well enough to hold his success in serving it an ample recompense.

— *Fisher Ames.*

General Washington was rather above the common size; his frame was robust and his constitution vigorous, capable of enduring great fatigue, and requiring a considerable degree of exercise for the preservation of his health. His exterior created in the beholder the idea of strength, united with manly gracefulness. His person and whole deportment exhibited an unaffected and indescribable dignity, unmingled with haughtiness, of which all who approached him were sensible; and the attachment of those who possessed his friendship, and enjoyed his intimacy, was ardent, but always respectful.

— *John Marshall.*

A more perfectly fitted and furnished character has never appeared on the theater of human action, than when, reining up his war-horse beneath the majestic and venerable elm, still standing at the entrance of the old Watertown road upon Cambridge Common, George Washington unsheathed his sword, and assumed the command of the gathering armies of American liberty. Those who had despaired, when they beheld their chief despaired no more. The very aspect of his person and

countenance concurred with the history of his life in impressing their hearts with a deep conviction that God was with him, in the exercise of a peculiar guardianship, and that in his hands their cause was safe.

— *Charles W. Upham.*

First in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen, he was second to none in the humble and endearing scenes of private life; pious, just, humane, temperate, and sincere; uniform, dignified, and commanding, his example was as edifying to all around him, as were the effects of that example lasting.

— *Henry Lee.*

Washington deserved the lofty praise bestowed upon him by the President of Congress when he resigned his commission, — that he had always regarded the rights of the civil authority through all changes and through all disasters.

— *Jeremiah S. Black.*

Happy was it for America, happy for the world, that a great name, a guardian genius, presided over her destinies in war, combining more than the virtues of the Roman Fabius and the Theban Epaminondas, and compared with whom the conquerors of the world, the Alexanders and Cæsars, are but pageants crimsoned with blood and decked with the trophies of slaughter, objects equally of the wonder and the execration of mankind. The hero of America was the conqueror only of his country's foes, and the hearts of his countrymen. To the one he was a terror, and in the other he gained an ascendancy, supreme, unrivaled, the triumph of admiring gratitude, the reward of a nation's love.

— *Jared Sparks.*

Others of our great men have been appreciated, — many admired by all. But him we love. Him we all love. About and around him we call up no dissentient and discordant and

dissatisfied elements, no sectional prejudice nor bias, no party, no creed, no dogma of politics. None of these shall assail him. When the storm of battle blows darkest and rages highest, the memory of Washington shall nerve every American arm and cheer every American heart. It shall relume that Promethean fire, that sublime flame of patriotism, that devoted love of country, which his words have commended, which his example has consecrated.

“Where may the wearied eye repose
When gazing on the great,
Where neither guilty glory glows
Nor despicable state?
Yes,—one, the first, the last, the best,
The Cincinnatus of the West,
Whom envy dared not hate,
Bequeathed the name of Washington
To make man blush, there was but one.”

— *Rufus Choate.*

For many years I have studied minutely the career of Washington, and with every step the greatness of the man has grown upon me, for analysis has failed to discover the act of his life which, under the conditions of the time, I could unhesitatingly pronounce to have been an error. Such has been my experience, and although my deductions may be wrong, they at least have been carefully and slowly made. I see in Washington a great soldier, who fought a trying war to a successful end impossible without him; a great statesman, who did more than all other men to lay the foundations of a republic which has endured in prosperity for more than a century. I find in him a marvelous judgment which was never at fault, a penetrating vision which beheld the future of America when it was dim to other eyes, a great intellectual force, a will of

iron, an unyielding grasp of facts, and an unequalled strength of patriotic purpose. I see in him, too, a pure and high-minded gentleman of dauntless courage and stainless honor, simple and stately of manner, kind and generous of heart. Such he was in truth. The historian and the biographer may fail to do him justice, but the instinct of mankind will not fail. The real hero needs not books to give him worshipers. George Washington will always receive the love and reverence of men, because they see embodied in him the noblest possibilities of humanity.

— *Henry Cabot Lodge.*

For tho' the years their golden round
O'er all the lavish region roll,
And realm on realm, from pole to pole,
In one beneath thy Stars be bound,
The far-off centuries as they flow,
No whiter name than this shall know!

— *Francis T. Palgrave.*

Name some of the other men who distinguished themselves during the period of the Revolution.

Among the many illustrious men of that time were John Hancock, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Patrick Henry, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and Alexander Hamilton.

There never was, in any age or nation, a body of men who, for general information, for the judicious use of civil and religious liberty, for true dignity, elevation, and grandeur of zeal, could stand comparison with the First American Congress. Whom do I behold? A Hancock, a Jefferson, a Henry,

a Lee, a Rutledge! Glory to their immortal spirits! On you depend the destinies of your country; the fate of three millions of men, and of the countless millions of their posterity. Shall these be slaves? Or will you make a noble stand for liberty against a power whose triumphs are already coextensive with the earth; whose legions trample on thrones and scepters; whose thunders bellow on every ocean? How tremendous the occasion! How vast the responsibilities!

The President and all the members of this august assembly take their seats. Every countenance tells the mighty struggle within. Every tongue is silent. It is a pause in nature,—that solemn, awful stillness which precedes the earthquake or tornado. At length one arises, and one equal to the occasion,—Patrick Henry, the Virginia Demosthenes. What dignity! What majesty! Every eye fastens on him. Firm, erect, undaunted, he rolls on the torrent of his mighty eloquence. What a picture does he draw of the horrors of servitude and the charms of freedom! At once, he gives full rein to all his gigantic powers, and pours his own heroic spirit into the minds of his auditors. They become as one man, actuated by one soul; and the universal shout is, “Liberty or Death!”

—*Jonathan Maxcy.*

Hamilton is one of the statesmen of creative minds who represent great ideas. It is for this reason that he left the deep mark of his personal influence upon our history. His principles of finance, of foreign affairs, of political economy, and of the powers and duties of government under the Constitution, may be found on every page of our history, and are full of vitality to-day.

—*Henry Cabot Lodge.*

To say that the life of Benjamin Franklin is the most interesting, the most uniformly successful yet lived by any Amer-

ican, is bold. But it is nevertheless strictly true. Not the least of the many glories of our country is the long list of men who, friendless, half-educated, poor, have by the sheer force of their own abilities raised themselves from the humblest beginnings to places of eminence and command. Many of these have surpassed him. Some have speculated more deeply on finance, some have been more successful as philanthropists, have made greater discoveries in physics, have written books more commonly read than his. Yet not one of them has attained to greatness in so many ways, or has made so lasting an impression on his countrymen. His face is as well known as the face of Washington, and, save that of Washington, is the only one of his time that is now instantly recognized by the great mass of his countrymen. His maxims are in every man's mouth. His name is, all over the country, bestowed on counties and towns, on streets, on societies, on corporations.

—*John Bach McMaster.*

There are Copant and Endicott, with their little rudimental plantations at Cape Ann and at Salem. There is the elder Winthrop, with the Massachusetts Charter, at Boston, of whom the latest and best of New England historians, Dr. Palfrey, has said that "it was his policy, more than any other man's, that organized into shape, animated with practical vigor, and prepared for permanency those primeval sentiments and institutions that have directed the course of thought and action in New England in later times." There is the younger Winthrop, not far behind, with the Charter of Connecticut, of whose separate colonies Hooker and Haynes and Hopkins and Eaton and Davenport and Ludlow had laid the foundations. There is Roger Williams, "the apostle of soul freedom," as he has been called, with the Charter of Rhode Island. There is

the brave and generous Stuyvesant, of the New Netherlands. There are the Catholic Calverts and the noble Quaker Penn, building up Maryland and Pennsylvania alike upon principles of toleration and philanthropy. There is the benevolent and chivalrous Oglethorpe, assisted by Whitefield and the Wesleys, planting his Moravian colony in Georgia. There is Franklin, with his first proposal of a Continental Union, and with his countless inventions in political as well as physical science. There is James Otis, with his great argument against Writs of Assistance, and Samuel Adams, with his inexorable demand for the removal of the British regiments from Boston. There are Quincy, with his grand remonstrance against the Port Bill, and Warren, offering himself as the protomartyr on Bunker Hill. There is Jefferson, with the Declaration of Independence fresh from his own pen, with John Adams close at his side, as its "colossus on the floor of Congress." There are Hamilton and Madison and Jay bringing forward the Constitution in their united arms; and there, leaning on their shoulders, and on that Constitution, but towering above them all, is Washington, the consummate commander, the incomparable President, the world-renowned patriot.

— *Robert C. Winthrop.*

What effect had the Revolution upon American patriotism?

It exerted a profound and lasting influence. It tended to break down the barriers that separated the colonies, and to awaken a spirit of union; it called into exercise some of the most striking qualities of human excellence; it brought out into bold relief

multitudes of heroic men — the pride of the nation ; it awakened a consciousness of national power, and aroused an ambition to excel among the nations of the earth. It vindicated the wisdom of the revolutionists, and laid the foundation for enduring national pride.

For America, the period abounded in new forms of virtue and greatness. Fidelity to principle pervaded the masses ; an unorganized people, of their own free will, suspended commerce by universal assent ; poverty rejected bribes. Heroism, greater than that of chivalry, burst into action from lowly men ; citizens, with their families, fled from their homes and wealth in towns, rather than yield to oppression. Battalions sprung up in a night from spontaneous patriotism ; where eminent statesmen hesitated, the instinctive action of the multitude revealed the counsels of magnanimity ; youth and genius gave up life freely for the liberties of mankind.

— *George Bancroft.*

If you would contemplate nationality, not merely as a state of consciousness, but as an active virtue, look around you. Is not our history one witness and record of what it can do ? The glory of the fields of that war, the eloquence of that revolution, this one wide sheet of flame which wrapt tyrant and tyranny, and swept all that escaped from it away forever ; the courage to fight, to advance, to guard the young flag by the young arm and the young heart's blood, to hold up and to hold on till the magnificent consummation crowned the work, — were not all these imparted or inspired by this imperial sentiment ? Has it not here begun the master work of man, the creation of a national life ? Ay, did it not, indeed, call out

that prodigious development of wisdom,—the wisdom of constructiveness which illustrated the years after the war, and the framing and adoption of the American Constitution?

— *Rufus Choate.*

No age will come in which the American Revolution will appear less than it is,—one of the greatest events in human history. No age will come, in which it will cease to be seen and felt, on either continent, that a mighty step, a great advance, not only in American affairs, but in human affairs, was made on the fourth of July, 1776. — *Daniel Webster.*

It is not the meaning nor within the compass of this address, to detail the hardships peculiarly incident to our service, or to describe the distresses which in several instances have resulted from the extremes of hunger and nakedness, combined with the rigors of an inclement season; nor is it necessary to dwell on the dark side of our past affairs. Every American officer and soldier must now console himself for any unpleasant circumstances which may have occurred, by a recollection of the uncommon scenes of which he has been called to act no inglorious part, and the astonishing events of which he has been a witness,—events which have seldom, if ever before, taken place on the stage of human action; nor can they probably ever happen again.

For who has before seen a disciplined army formed at once from such raw materials? Who, that was not a witness, could imagine that the most violent local prejudices would cease so soon, and that men who came from the different parts of the continent, strongly disposed by the habits of education to despise and quarrel with each other, would instantly become but one patriotic band of brothers? Or

who, that was not on the spot, can trace the steps by which such a wonderful revolution has been effected, and such a glorious period put to all our warlike toils?

— *George Washington (Farewell to the Army).*

When Lafayette was about to return to his native land at the close of the war, he said, in reply to a committee of the American Congress, appointed to present him with a letter addressed to the king, expressive of their high appreciation of the services he had rendered: "May this immense Temple of Freedom ever stand, a lesson to oppressors, an example to the oppressed, a sanctuary for the rights of mankind! And may these happy United States attain that complete splendor and prosperity which will illustrate the blessings of their government, and for ages to come rejoice the departed souls of its founders!"

The founders of this Temple of Freedom have long since seen the last of earth; but the temple they raised still stands in all its matchless proportions, a beacon light to the oppressed, a sanctuary for the rights of mankind, and we live to witness the realization of his prayer and prophetic words.

— *Levi P. Morton.*

THE NATION.



*Lord of the Universe, shield us and guide us,
Trusting thee always, through shadow and sun,
Thou hast united us, who shall divide us?
Keep us, oh, keep us, the MANY IN ONE.*

— OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

THE NATION.

What is the difference between a Confederacy and a Nation?

A Confederacy is a voluntary union of independent states, which for mutual advantage and defense enter into an alliance that can be terminated at the pleasure of the individual state. A Nation is a people united under a central government. It is a perpetual union that cannot be dissolved, that can only be overthrown by successful revolution. Thus, in our country, there are many states, but there is only one Nation, — “*E pluribus unum.*”

“*E pluribus unum*” is not a mere rhetorical phrase, but the terse record of our system of government.

— *John K. Porter.*

The first two words of the national motto are as much a part of it as the last. They have never been changed since their use began. They have been borne in every battle and on every march, by land, or sea, in defeat as in victory. They

are still blazoned on our escutcheon, and copied in every seal of office. May that motto never be mutilated or disowned. It should be written on the walls of the Capitol and on every state house. Its three words contain a faithful history; may they abide for ages, pledges of the future, as they are witnesses of the past.

— *David Dudley Field.*

America is a Commonwealth of commonwealths, a Republic of republics, a State which, while one, is nevertheless composed of other states even more essential to its existence than it is to theirs.

— *James Bryce.*

Rivalry among the states, and pride at the intellectual and physical development of each, by its own inhabitants, are right and proper, but if a state, "one of the many," claims to be above the whole, and usurps such power, the Nation must suppress it, first by judicial process, and, if that be not sufficient, then by force. If this conclusion be universally recognized as the law and the fact, it never will occur.

— *William T. Sherman.*

What the sun is in the heavens, diffusing light and warmth, and by its subtle influence holding the planets in their orbits, and preserving the harmony of the universe, such is the sentiment of nationality in a people, diffusing life and protection in every direction, holding the faces of Americans always towards their homes, protecting the states in the exercise of their just powers, and preserving the harmony of all. We must have a Nation. It is a necessity of our political existence. We should cherish the idea that while the states have their rights, sacred and inviolable, which we should guard with untiring vigilance, never permitting an encroachment upon them, and ever remembering that such encroachment is as much a violation of the Constitution of the United States as

to encroach upon the rights of the general government; still bear in mind that the states are but subordinate parts of one great Nation, that the Nation is over all, even as God is over the universe.

— *Oliver P. Morton.*

When did the people of the colonies formally become a Nation?

They became a Nation in 1789, by the adoption of the National Constitution.

The acceptance of the Constitution of 1789 made the American people a Nation. It turned what had been a League of States into a Federal State by giving it a National Government, with a direct authority over all citizens.

— *James Bryce.*

When the United States ceased to be a part of the British Empire and assumed the character of an independent nation, they became subject to that system of rules which reason, morality, and custom had established among the civilized nations of Europe as their public law.

— *James Kent.*

There was a state without king or nobles; there was a church without a bishop; there was a people governed by grave magistrates which it had selected, and equal laws which it had framed.

— *Rufus Choate.*

The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued in the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen states expressly plighted and engaged that it should

be perpetual, by the Articles of the Confederation, in 1778; and finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was to form a more perfect Union.

— *Abraham Lincoln.*

The Constitution of the United States forms a government, not a league, and whether it be formed by compact between the states or in any other manner, its character is the same. It is a government in which all the people are represented, which operates directly upon the people individually, not upon the states—they retained all the power they did not grant. But each state having expressly parted with so many powers as to constitute, jointly with the other states, a single nation, cannot from that period possess any right to secede, because such secession does not break a league, but destroys the unity of a nation, and any injury to that unity is not only a breach which would result from the contravention of a compact, but is an offence against the whole Union. To say that any state may at pleasure secede from the Union is to say that the United States are not a nation, because it would be a solecism to contend that any part of a nation might dissolve its connection with the other parts, to their injury or ruin, without committing any offence.

— *Andrew Jackson.*

Great were the hearts, and strong the minds
Of those who framed, in high debate,
The immortal league of love, that binds
Our fair broad Empire, state with state.

And deep the gladness of the hour,
When, as the auspicious task was done,
In solemn trust, the sword of power,
Was given to glory's unspoiled son.

That noble race is gone ; the suns
Of sixty years have risen and set ;
But the bright links, those chosen ones
So strongly forged, are brighter yet.

Wide, as our own free race increase —
Wide shall extend the elastic chain,
And bind in everlasting peace,
State after state, — a mighty train.

— *William Cullen Bryant.*

What is a Constitution ?

A Constitution is a document declaring the form of government, and prescribing the duties and privileges of those who live under it. It is the general, organic law of the land.

When we talk of the constitution of a state or a nation, we mean those of its rules or laws which determine the form of its government, and the respective rights and duties of the government towards the citizens and of the citizens towards the government.

— *James Bryce.*

Constitutions represent the will of the people, are superior to all congresses or legislatures, and can only be altered by the people, in such modes, as to time and majorities, as guarantee deliberation and a widespread settled feeling of a necessity for a change.

— *Douglas Campbell.*

In ancient times the power of the kings extended to everything whatsoever, both civil, domestic, and foreign ; but in

after-times they relinquished some of their privileges, and others the people assumed. — *Aristotle.*

Other nations speak of their constitutions, which are the growth of centuries of government, and the maxims of experience and the traditions of ages. Many of them deserve the veneration which they receive. But a constitution in the American sense of the term, as accepted in all the states of North and South America, means an instrument, in writing, defining the powers of government, and distributing those powers among different bodies of magistrates for their more judicious exercise. The Constitution of the United States not only did this as regards a national government, but it established a federation of many states by the same instrument, in which the usual fatal defects in such unions have been corrected, with such felicity, that during the hundred years of its existence the Union of the states has grown stronger, and has received within that Union other states, exceeding in number those of the original federation. — *Samuel F. Miller.*

A nation is made not by conventions, but by the operation of principles. A common soil, language, religion, laws, literature, social customs, thoughts and aims, will make a nation without written constitutions; and written instruments that attempt to band together parts not thus naturally wedded, will inevitably fail. We are a nation by the operation of principles that underlie all written law; and we must advance, year by year, into a more firmly centralized, into a deeper and broader nationality by the vital growth and development of those principles, let the rigid and literal interpretations of any instrument point otherwise or not. But our constitution does not point otherwise. Its framers knew that we were a union already, that we were advancing into a nationality, and thus

gave legal form to that which necessities and circumstances were already enacting. There are results that spring with unfailing sequence from antecedents, unshaped and unguided by the will or the conscious aid of men. There are laws operating at the very heart of our civilization which determine nationality and mark the course of empire. Constitutions must become plastic to the march of events; and we shall not be required in the future of our government to bind ourselves to the rigid framework of a dead letter, which our needs and purposes have outgrown. We must guard, however, between a too rigid formalism on the one hand, and a too free interpretation on the other. The spirit of our constitution points to a nationality, aiming to unite all parts, to secure equality and liberty to all individuals, and to protect section against section. Let us strengthen that nationality by our habits of thought, by breadth of patriotism, by a suppression of local pride and sectional prejudices. Let us look at our banner, not to search out the star which represents the single state to which we belong, but to love and accept the entire galaxy.

— *Oliver Bunce.*

What is the Preamble to the Constitution ?

It sets forth the reasons for its adoption, and is as follows : —

“ We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.”

The Constitution ordains this government, organizes its form, and confers and limits its authority. The principle is elemental in the law and statesmanship of the country. The maxim, that government is derived from the consent of the governed, is old, but not forgotten. It is graven deep upon our historic record. It is the living principle of our national life. This consent is expressed in the Constitution; through it alone are our rulers empowered. There is no other fountain of power; there cannot be in a constitutional system.

— *William A. Beach.*

The American form of government, with the immense power it gives to the courts, could not exist among a people whose reverence for law and whose love of litigation were not very great; nor could it endure without a provision for amendment, which acts as a safety valve and allows the steam to escape when the pressure becomes too great. The system would not be possible, moreover, if it did not rest on a popular basis; for no merits it might have possessed would have preserved it, if, instead of being established by the people, it had been a relic of an aristocratic state of society. The French publicists speak of the advantage possessed by a republic in dealing with insurrections, saying that it can put them down without arousing the sense of oppression which would be caused by the same acts on the part of a monarchy; and this they ascribe to the fact that a republic is the government of the people, and its acts are the acts of the people themselves. Now the same principle applies to the authority of the American court in constitutional questions, because a legislature which passes an unconstitutional statute is usurping power over the people, and the court, refusing to enforce such a statute, is giving effect to the popular will. In order, therefore, to limit the power

of the legislature, and maintain the authority of the court, it is necessary to draw a sharp line between constitutional and other laws, and to make it clear that the former embody, in a peculiar degree, the wishes of the people. This is done very thoroughly in America, where the action of the legislature is sufficient for all ordinary laws; while amendments to the Federal Constitution are submitted for approval to the several states, and changes in the constitution of a state require almost universally a vote of the citizens. — *A. Lawrence Lowell.*

What are the great merits of our National Constitution?

The recognition of the people as the source of power, and the orderly and wise distribution of the functions of government into three grand divisions, — legislative, judicial, and executive, each with its prerogatives and limitations clearly defined.

The American Constitution is, so far as I can see, the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man. — *William E. Gladstone.*

I confess I do not often envy the United States, but there is one feature in their institutions which appears to me the subject of the greatest envy, — their magnificent institution of a Supreme Court. — *Marquis of Salisbury.*

The chief characteristic which distinguishes our government from all others is the division and distribution of its powers among the three great departments and their absolute independence of each other. Under the limitations of our

written Constitution it is impossible that any one department should encroach upon another. No law of Congress can deprive the President of any one of the constitutional powers vested in him. Any act by which this should be attempted would be vetoed by the President, and, if passed over the veto, would be declared null and void by the Supreme Court.

— *Benjamin F. Tracy.*

There never existed an example before of a free community spreading over such an extent of territory; and the ablest and profoundest thinkers, at the time, believed it to be utterly impracticable that there should be. Yet this difficult problem was solved — successfully solved — by the wise and sagacious men who framed our Constitution. No; it was above unaided human wisdom — above the sagacity of the most enlightened. It was the result of a fortunate combination of circumstances coöperating and leading the way to its formation; directed by that kind Providence which has so often and so signally disposed events in our favor.

— *John C. Calhoun.*

Every free government is necessarily complicated, because all such governments establish restraints, as well on the power of government itself as on that of individuals. If we will abolish the distinction of branches, and have but one branch; if we will abolish jury trials, and leave all to the judge; and if we place the executive power in the same hands, we may readily simplify government. We may easily bring it to the simplest of all possible forms, — a pure despotism. But a separation of departments, so far as practicable, and the preservation of clear lines of division between them, is the fundamental idea in the creation of all our constitutions; and, doubtless, the continuance of regulated liberty depends on maintaining these boundaries.

— *Daniel Webster.*

Define Government.

Government means rule, or control. Family government is the control exercised over the household by the parents; school government is the system of rules prescribed by the teachers for the regulation of the affairs of the school; military government is the control of, or by, an army; civil government is the body of laws for regulating a community.

This word is used to designate the aggregate of the powers to which the exercise of effective sovereignty belongs in each state.

— *Hippolyte Passy.*

A government, whatever its form, is at bottom nothing but a committee of the citizens chosen and maintained by them to do certain things for the whole body, which cannot be so well done by individual or merely associated effort.

— *Arthur L. Perry.*

Conduct has to be ruled either from without or from within. If the rule from within is not efficient, there must exist supplementary rule from without. If, on the other hand, all men are properly ruled from within, government becomes needless, and all men are perfectly free.

— *Herbert Spencer.*

The world knows of no other powers of government, than the power of the law, sustained by public opinion, and the power of the sword, sustained by the arm that wields it.

— *Horace Binney.*

The true conception of the government is that the government is an organ of the state. It embodies and expresses

the state just as language embodies and expresses thought. However good or however bad the existing government may be, it is, nevertheless, for the time at least, the representative of the state. There was not even a shadow of truth in the famous saying of Louis XIV., "I am the state," but it would have been almost literally true if he had said, "I am the government."

All just government is of God through the people. For man is so made by his Creator that he must live in a state, and the state must have a government. So long as a man needs hands and feet, so long the state will need a government. And that is the best government which most fully expresses the needs of the state, and does all that can be done to satisfy those needs.

—*Frank S. Hoffman.*

What is the origin of Civil Government?

Individuals differ in their tastes, their ideas, and their habits. If one could live absolutely by himself, he might follow his own will, subject only to natural law; but when men live together, they cannot all have their own way—they must not interfere with each other.

There are, too, in all large communities those who do not wish to do right, and who, therefore, must be restrained and punished for crime. There are also orphans, idiots, lunatics, paupers, and other helpless people to be cared for. There are roads to lay out and keep in repair, bridges to build,

estates to settle, schools to establish, and a multiplicity of other things to be done. All this requires a law-making power, officers to interpret laws, and others to execute them. Taxes must be equitably assessed, collected, and expended, and this must be done according to some system; otherwise there would be confusion, uncertainty, and injustice. Government is a necessity:

It is evident that a state is one of the works of nature, and that man is naturally a political animal. — *Aristotle.*

When civil society is once formed, government at the same time results as a matter of course, as necessary to preserve and to keep that society in order. — *William Blackstone.*

Just laws are no restraint upon the freedom of the good, for the good man desires nothing which a just law will interfere with. — *James A. Froude.*

Society can no more exist without government, in one form or another, than man without society. It is the political, then, which includes the social, that is his natural state; it is the one for which his Creator formed him, into which he is impelled irresistibly, and in which only his race can exist and all his faculties be fully developed. Such being the case, it follows that any — the worst — form of government is better than anarchy; and that individual liberty or freedom must be subordinate to whatever power may be necessary to protect society against anarchy within or destruction from without; for the safety and well-being of society are as paramount to individual liberty as the safety and well-being of the race is

to that of individuals, and, in the same proportion, the power necessary for the safety of society is paramount to individual liberty.

— *John C. Calhoun.*

What is the object of Civil Government?

To secure order, justice, freedom, stability, and thus to protect the individual in his person and property, and to promote the public welfare.

The province of government is to increase to the utmost the pleasures and to diminish to the utmost the pains which men derive from each other.

— *John Stuart Mill.*

It is the function of civil government to make it easy to do right and difficult to do wrong.

— *William E. Gladstone.*

Morality is the object of government. We want a state of things in which crime will not pay, a state of things which allows every man the largest liberty compatible with the liberty of every other man.

— *Ralph Waldo Emerson.*

The government ought not to be first a policeman and then a teacher, but first and mainly a teacher, and a policeman only if needs be.

— *Frank S. Hoffman.*

The first object of a free people is the preservation of their liberty, and liberty is only to be preserved by maintaining constitutional restraints and just divisions of political power. Nothing is more deceptive or more dangerous than the pretence of a desire to simplify government. The simplest governments are despotisms, limited monarchies; but all republics,

all governments of law, must impose numerous limitations and qualifications of authority, and give many positive and many qualified rights. In other words, they must be subject to rule and regulation. This is the very essence of free political institutions.

— *Daniel Webster.*

The police power of the state is an authority conferred by the American constitutional system upon the individual states, through which they are enabled to establish a special department of police; adopt such regulations as tend to prevent the commission of fraud, violence, or other offences against the state; aid in the arrest of criminals, and secure generally the comfort, health, and prosperity of the state, by preserving the public order, preventing a conflict of rights in the common intercourse of the citizen, and insuring to each an uninterrupted enjoyment of all the privileges conferred upon him by the laws of his country. The organization of a state police, which shall fulfill its functions effectively and yet leave to the individual unimpaired freedom under the liberal laws of a republican form of government, is one of the most delicate tasks ever intrusted to the lawgiver.

— *John W. Clappitt.*

Define Self-government.

In a political sense Self-government is the control exercised by a people over its own affairs.

William Penn did not despair of humanity, and though all history and experience denied the sovereignty of the people, dared to cherish the noble idea of man's capacity for self-government.

— *George Bancroft.*

I will be lord over myself. No one who cannot master himself is worthy to rule, and only he can rule.

— *Johann W. von Goethe.*

Self-government stimulates the interest of people in the affairs of their neighborhood, sustains local political life, educates the citizen in his daily round of civic duty, teaches him that perpetual vigilance and the sacrifice of his own time and labor are the price that must be paid for individual liberty and collective prosperity.

— *James Bryce.*

Since the final end of life is the development of character, government is to be tested, not by the temporal and immediate advantages which it may afford, but by its power to promote the development of true men and women. No government accomplishes this end so effectively as democratic government. Since democratic government is self-government, it introduces every man into the school of experience — of all schools the one in which the training is most thorough and the progress most rapid. The gradual and increasing effect of democracy is to give to its pupils, in lieu of a faith in some unknown God, first faith in humanity and then in God, as witnessed in life and experience of humanity; in lieu of a reverence for a few elect superiors, respect for all men; in lieu of a lethargic counterfeit of contentment, a far-reaching and inspiring though sometimes too eager hopefulness; and in lieu of an often servile submission to accidental masters, a spirit of sturdy independence and mutual fellowship. So does democracy, though by very gradual and often conflicting processes, produce the liberty of a universal brotherhood, and possess the secret of public peace, the promise of public prosperity, the hope of social righteousness, and inspiration to illimitable progress.

— *Lyman Abbott.*

What is meant by a Representative Government?

A government in which the people choose representatives to make and execute their laws for them. It is the best form of republican government,—a modified democracy.

A representative government, made responsible at short periods of election, produces the greatest sum of happiness to mankind.
— *Thomas Jefferson.*

What, then, is the structure of this American Constitution? One branch of the Legislature is to be elected by the people,—by the same people who choose your state representatives. Its members are to hold office for two years, and then return to their constituents. Here the people govern. Here they act by their immediate representatives.

— *Alexander Hamilton.*

Modern democracies must use the representative system for the taking of the sense of the community. While in the representative body so selected, the majority, of course, should govern, it by no means follows that the majority only should be represented; but, on the contrary, no true majority government can be had by means of the representative system unless all are represented.

— *Simon Sterne.*

The sovereignty of the ancient *régime*, inherent in the person of the monarch, and possessed by virtue of divine right, continued legitimate with all the plenitude of its powers, even in opposition to the unanimous will of the people. Modern sovereignty, essentially power delegated, is legitimate only within the limits of the grant.

— *Jules Simon.*

The two very specific marks of ancient democracy, election by lot and the popular assemblies, are rejected by the new democratic republic, which fills offices by election, and, instead of the rude popular assemblies, has introduced representation by election. In both regards the democratic principle has been corrected and complemented by the aristocratic preference for the fitter and more intelligent. Ancient democracy was what may be called pure democracy; the modern is representative. Representative democracy is democracy moderated and ennobled by the elevation of the best.

—*Johann K. Bluntschli.*

What is the distinguishing feature of the Republic?

It is “a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.”

It is the people's constitution, the people's government; made for the people; made by the people; and answerable to the people.

—*Daniel Webster.*

“A government of the people, by the people, and for the people” has been the ideal government of the world, and the dream of the people everywhere. It is the realization of the universal hope which springs eternal in the breast of the governed around the globe.

—*Henry L. Morey.*

I shall not search, as many have done, into the true etymology of this word democracy. I shall not traverse the garden of Greek roots to find the derivation of this word. I shall point you to democracy where I have seen it, living, active, triumphant; in the only country in the world where it truly

exists, where it has been able to establish and maintain, even to the present time, something grand and durable to claim our admiration,—in the New World,—in America. There shall you see a people among whom all conditions of men are more on an equality even than among us; where the social state, the manners, the laws,—everything,—is democratic; where all emanates from the people and returns to the people; and where at the same time, every individual enjoys a greater amount of liberty, a more entire independence, than in any other part of the world at any period of time; a country, I repeat it, essentially democratic; the only democracy in the wide world at this day; and the only republic, truly democratic, which we know of in history.

—*Alexis C. H. C. de Tocqueville.*

The American system is a complete one, reaching down to the foundations, and the foundations are its most important portions. At the bottom lies the township, which divides the whole North and West into an infinity of little republics, each managing its own local affairs. In the old states they differ in their area and machinery. In the new states of the West they are more regular in size, being generally six miles square. Each township elects its own local officers and manages its own local affairs. Annually a town meeting is held of all the voters, and suffrage is limited only by citizenship. At these meetings, not only are the local officers elected, such as supervisors, town clerks, justices of the peace, road-masters, and the like, but money is appropriated for bridges, schools, libraries, and other purposes of a local nature.

Next above the township stands the county, an aggregate of a dozen or so of towns. Its officials,—sheriffs, judges, clerks, registers, and other officers to manage county affairs,—

are chosen at the general state election. It has also a local assembly, formed of the town supervisors. They audit accounts, supervise the county institutions, and legislate as to various county matters.

Above the counties, again, stands the state government, with its legislature, which passes laws relating to state affairs; and finally, the Federal government, which deals only with national concerns. The whole forms a consistent and harmonious system, which reminded Matthew Arnold of a well-fitting suit of clothes, loose where it should be loose, and tight where tightness is an advantage.

— *Douglas Campbell.*

Explain what is meant by "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

It expresses in a terse way the great truth that the government under which the people of the United States live is created by themselves and administered by their representatives, and that its sole purpose is to protect them in the fullest enjoyment of their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The sovereignty of the people is the basis of our system. With the people the power resides both theoretically and practically. The government is a determined, uncompromising democracy, administered immediately by the people or by the people's responsible agents.

— *George Bancroft.*

This complex government was curiously contrived to give liberty and safety to the people of all the states. It was

fashioned by the people, in the name of the people, and for the people. Its aim was to keep the peace among the states, and to manage affairs of common concern, while it left the states the entire management of their own affairs. Its founders were wise and practical men. — *David Dudley Field.*

There has been every variety of experiment tried, in the course of human affairs, between the great extreme of the slavery of Egyptians to their king—the extreme instance of an entire population scarcely lifted above the brutes in their absolute subjection to the tyranny of a ruler, so that the life and the soul, and the sweat and the blood of a whole generation of men are consumed in the task of building a mausoleum as the grave of a king—and the later efforts of our race, culminating in the happy success of our own form of government, to establish, on foundations where liberty and law find equal support, the principle of government that government is by, and for, and from all the people; that the rulers, instead of being their masters and their owners, are their agents and their servants; and that the greatest good of the greatest number is the plain, practical, and equal rule which, by gift from our Creator, we enjoy. — *William M. Evarts.*

The President of the United States is nothing more than an elective trustee or agent, chosen by the people to administer certain well-defined and specific trusts for them and as their representative. Our fathers formulated that portion of the Constitution which concerned the Presidential office under a realizing sense of the evils they had suffered while subject to the caprices of a royal ruler, and guarded well against any assumption of power or prerogative by the individual which could threaten or endanger the liberty of the people. Over one hundred years of experience have proven the wisdom and

foresight of the statesmen of the Revolution. They "planned wisely and builded well." The President is still the *servant* of the people. His powers are great, but the fear of absolutism or of usurpation of supreme authority by him never disturbs us. The nation, even in time of war, rests secure in the consciousness of its power to confine within constitutional limits the exercise of executive authority. — *Benjamin F. Tracy.*

Define People.

Strictly speaking, the term "people" includes everybody, — the wise, the good, criminals, lunatics, and paupers. But when we say that in a republic the people rule, we mean by people, the voters. In a still more restricted sense, the people means the majority of voters.

It seems to me a symptomatic fact that the term "people" has at no period, so far as I am acquainted with the domestic history of England, become in politics a term of reproach, not even in her worst periods. On the contrary, the word "people" has always been surrounded with dignity, and when Chatham was called "the people's minister," it was intended by those who gave him this name, as a great honor. In French, in German, and in all the continental languages with which I am acquainted, the corresponding words sank to actual terms of contempt.

— *Francis Lieber.*

The "people" who exercise the power are not always the same people with those over whom it is exercised; and the "self-government" spoken of is not the government of each by himself, but of each by all the rest. The will of the people,

moreover, practically means the will of the most numerous or the most active part of the people; the majority, or those who succeed in making themselves accepted as the majority.

— *John Stuart Mill.*

But outside, and above, and beyond all this, is the People, — steady, industrious, self-possessed, caring little for abstractions, and less for abstractionists, but with one deep, common sentiment, and with the consciousness, calm but quite sure and earnest, that in the Constitution and the Union, as they received them from their fathers, and as they themselves have observed and maintained them, is the sheet-anchor of their hope, the pledge of their prosperity, the palladium of their liberty; and with this is that other consciousness, not less calm and not less earnest, that in their own keeping exclusively, and not in that of any party leaders, or party demagogues, or political hacks or speculators, is the integrity of that Union and that Constitution. It is in the strong arms and honest hearts of the great masses, who are not members of Congress, nor holders of office, nor spouters at town-meetings, that resides the safety of the state; and these masses, though slow to move, are irresistible, when the time and the occasion for moving come.

— *Charles King.*

I have claimed to be a democrat of democrats, upon the ground that only those are entitled to the name who fully accept the rule, that every man, be he rich or poor, black or white, has an equal stake in righteous government. The rich man has no greater claim to influence merely because he possesses wealth, than the poor man because he desires to attain it, except so far as in the attainment of his property he has gained an honest influence over others.

— *Edward Atkinson.*

Why is a Republic to be preferred to a Monarchy?

A majority is less likely to be tyrannical than one man; the more widely power is diffused among the people, the less likely it is to be abused. In republics the rights of the individual are protected by constitutional safeguards. In popular governments, where free speech and a free press prevail, an unjust majority easily becomes a minority; the government is peacefully revolutionized and reforms instituted. The growth of liberty and justice is facilitated by republican and hindered by monarchical governments.

For one individual, be he who he will, will be found upon comparison inferior to a whole people taken collectively; but a state, as composed of many, is, as a public entertainment, better than one man's portion; for which reason the multitude judge of many things better than any one single person. The multitude are also less liable to corruption; as water is from its quantity, so are the many less liable to corruption than the few; besides, the judgment of an individual must necessarily be perverted, if he is overcome by anger or any other passion; but it would be hard indeed, if the whole community should be misled by anger.

— *Aristotle.*

The republican form of government is the highest form of government; but, because of this, it requires the highest type of human nature — a type nowhere at present existing.

— *Herbert Spencer.*

I maintain that our democratic principle is not that the people are always right. It is this rather: that although the people may sometimes be wrong, yet that they are not so likely to be wrong and to do wrong, as irrepressible hereditary magistrates and legislators; that it is safer to trust the many with the keeping of their own interests, than it is to trust the few to keep those interests for them. — *Orville Dewey.*

Are Majorities always right? Is the maxim "vox populi vox Dei" always a safe one?

By no means. Majorities may be unwise and unjust, but in the long run they may be expected to be about right. The majority should govern.

A majority held in check by constitutional limitation, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible; the rule of a minority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible. So that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism, in some form, is all that is left.

— *Abraham Lincoln.*

The faith of our people in the stability and permanence of their institutions was like their faith in the eternal course of nature. Peace, liberty, and personal security were blessings as common and universal as sunshine and showers and fruitful seasons; and all sprang from a single source,—the principle declared in the Pilgrim Covenant of 1620,—that all owed due

submission and obedience to the lawfully expressed will of the majority. This is not one of the doctrines of our political system — it is the system itself. It is our political firmament, in which all other truths are set, as stars in the heaven. It is the encasing air, the breath of the Nation's life.

— *James A. Garfield.*

If we are faithful to our country, if we acquiesce with good will in the decisions of the majority, and the nation moves in mass in the same direction, although it may not be that which every individual thinks best, we have nothing to fear from any quarter.

— *Thomas Jefferson.*

Our civil compact is a government by majorities, and the law loses its sanction and the magistrate our respect when this compact is broken.

— *Benjamin Harrison.*

It was not pleasant for the fathers to oppose George III. at the peril of life and fortune and sacred honor; but they had to do it, because he was wrong. In the same spirit we must be ready to oppose the monarch of to-day of America — the Majority — when it is wrong.

— *H. L. Wayland.*

And what shall we say of government by a majority of voices? To a person who, in the last century, would have called himself an impartial observer, a numerical preponderance seems, on the whole, as clumsy a way of arriving at the truth as could well be devised, but experience has apparently shown it to be a convenient arrangement for determining what may be expedient or advisable or practicable at any given moment.

— *James Russell Lowell.*

Define Law.

Law is a rule of action. Natural law is an expression of the method of the Creator in the control of matter. Civil law is the rules of a government for the control of its people. Laws are designed to make clear to all the rights, privileges, obligations, and duties of each member of a community, and are essential to human welfare. The progress of a people is measured by the character of its laws. Progress in liberty consists in defining more and more clearly the rights of the individual, and his protection in the enjoyment of them by the sanctions of the law.

The law does not say to a man, "Work, and I will reward you"; but it says to him, "Work, and by stopping the hand that would take them from you, I will insure to you the fruits of your labor, its natural and sufficient reward, which, without me, you could not preserve." If industry creates, it is the law which preserves; if, at the first moment, we owe everything to labor, at the second, and every succeeding moment, we owe everything to the law.

— *Jeremy Bentham.*

The design and object of laws is to ascertain what is just, honorable, and expedient; and, when that is discovered, it is proclaimed as a general ordinance, equal and impartial to all. This is the origin of law, which, for various reasons, all are under an obligation to obey, but especially because all law is the invention and gift of heaven, the resolution of wise men, the correction of every offense, and the general compact of the state, to live in conformity with which is the duty of every individual in society.

— *Demosthenes.*

Law and arbitrary power are in eternal enmity. Name me a magistrate, and I will name property; name me power, and I will name protection. It is a contradiction in terms, it is blasphemy in religion, it is wickedness in politics, to say that any man can have arbitrary power.

In every patent of office the duty is included. For what else does a magistrate exist? To suppose, for power, is an absurdity in idea. Judges are guided and governed by the eternal laws of justice, to which we are all subject. We may bite our chains, if we will; but we shall be made to know ourselves, and be taught that man is born to be governed by *law*; and he that will substitute *will* in the place of it is an enemy to God.

— *Edmund Burke.*

Our essential safety here in the United States and Canada as well as in England, and to a less degree in the Continental countries, lies in the deep popular consciousness that modern society rests upon the basis of the largest individual freedom that is compatible with the common welfare, and that it is the function of the law to prescribe the rules under which life may offer the best chances to everybody.

— *Albert Shaw.*

The Anglo-Saxon race, from which we inherit so much that is valuable in our character as well as our institutions, has been remarkable in all its history for a love of law and order. I but repeat the language of the Supreme Court of the United States when I say that "in this country the law is supreme." No man is so high as to be above law. No officer of the government may disregard it with impunity. To this inborn and native regard for law, as a governing power, we are largely indebted for the wonderful success and prosperity of our people, for the security of our rights; and when the highest law, to which we pay this homage, is the Constitution of the United States, the

history of the world has furnished no such wonder of a prosperous, happy, civil government. — *Samuel F. Miller.*

What is the origin of Law?

Law embodies the idea of justice, is expressed in custom, public opinion, judicial decisions, legislative enactments, authoritative decrees; historical inductions, philosophical speculations, and divine revelation.

Law is nothing but right reason, derived from the Divinity.
— *Cicero.*

Our human laws are but the copies, more or less imperfect, of the eternal laws, so far as we can read them.

— *James A. Froude.*

The Common Law of England is not the product of the wisdom of some one man, or society of men, in any one age; but of the wisdom, counsel, experience, and observation of many ages of wise and observing men. — *Matthew Hale.*

Of Law there can be no less acknowledged than that her seat is the bosom of God, the harmony of the world: all things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not excepted from her power.
— *Richard Hooker.*

Law is an idea essential to the human mind. It cannot be supplanted by another, any more than religion can be by art. That idea necessarily requires an external manifestation and a power in which to embody itself. That power is the state.

— *Felix Dahn.*

The one idea which the lawyer must ever cherish, and strive to hold clearly and firmly in his conceptions, is that of justice. To say precisely what this is seems to transcend the power of human analysis. We attempt to describe it at one time and another, by calling it what is right, or good, or fit, or convenient; but it is neither of these things alone,—perhaps because it is all of them together. It is the subtle essence which animates every rule deserving the name of law, but which we cannot separate from the actions in which it dwells.

“Guest of million painted forms,
Which, in turn, its glory warms,”

we find the chase after it to be endless, and guess that it is a divinity. But we do know that all reform and progress in the law consist in lifting up the actual system which we administer into a more perfect harmony with the ideal conception.

—James C. Carter.

Define Loyalty.

Loyalty is primarily obedience to law; it also involves due respect for all authority and for all public officials. It is the homage men pay to order and justice. Loyalty is one of the greatest of civic virtues.

Let reverence of the law be breathed by every mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap; let it be taught in schools, seminaries, and colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling-books, and almanacs; let it be preached from pulpits,

and proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice; in short, let it become the political religion of the Nation.

— *Abraham Lincoln.*

The stability of this Government and the unity of this Nation depend solely on the cordial support and the earnest loyalty of the people.

— *Ulysses S. Grant.*

While we reverence what Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel fought for, — the union of peoples, — we must secure above all else what Steuben and Kosciusko aided our fathers to establish, — liberty regulated by law.

— *Levi P. Morton.*

Implicit obedience to law and the mandates of duly organized courts is the vital principle of free, elective government. Upon it rest the pillars of the Republic. No grievance, however great, can justify a resort to lawless violence for its redress. If the time shall ever come when obedience to law can be maintained only by the strong arm of military power, despotism or anarchy is near at hand. It is for the living generations to see to it that the fruits of free constitutional government, garnered by the sacrifices of the heroic dead, are not wasted in the future, and that the priceless legacy of liberty bequeathed by our fathers shall be transmitted unimpaired to coming times.

— *Galusha A. Grow.*

If any government should be tempted to neglect, even for a moment, its function of compelling obedience to the law, — if a democracy, for example, were to allow a portion of the multitude of which it consists to set some law at defiance which it happens to dislike, — it would be guilty of a crime which hardly any other virtue could redeem, and which century upon century might fail to repair.

— *Henry S. Maine.*

Describe Criminals and Punishment.

Criminals are law-breakers. Theft, burglary, arson, perjury, assault, and murder are among the common crimes, but there are very many others. Law is intended for the protection of society by punishing or restraining criminals. Every individual accused of crime is entitled to a fair trial, and all punishment should be fitted to the character and age of the criminal, and to the nature of the offense. Juvenile offenders are sent to reform schools. It is better, when possible, to prevent crime by removing the causes than to punish it. Intemperance is one of the most fruitful sources of crime.

In spite of the enormous expenditure of sixty million dollars per annum on police, judiciary, and prisons, the class which lives by preying upon society increases, and all discussion is to be welcomed which will attract popular attention to the magnitude of the evil, and excite thoughtful consideration as to the measures best adapted to work a much-needed reform.

— *Henry C. Lea.*

We need a set of laws that will not only prevent all oppression of the innocent, but will also see to it that the guilty are promptly apprehended and made to suffer. Then with a universal application of the principle of an indeterminate sentence beyond a certain fixed minimum, compulsory labor, and compulsory education, we may hope to stay the rising tide of crime and do far more than can otherwise be done to free the future from its blighting influence. — *Frank S. Hoffman.*

The same law which gives a verdict in a white man's favor, should give a verdict in a black man's favor, on the same state of facts. Such is the law of God, and such ought to be the law of man.

— *Thaddeus Stevens.*

No man's property is safe, and no man's welfare is assured, where justice is denied to the poor, or where crime goes unpunished; no state can prosper, however rich the land or varied the resources, where human rights are not respected. If states cannot or do not govern themselves justly, and accord an equal chance to all their citizens, their influence in the councils of the nation must be small indeed.

— *David A. Wells.*

Mob law is a crime, whether in the hands of strikers trying to maintain a monopoly of labor, or in the hands of citizens of the vicinage, manifesting their virtue or getting their revenge by putting a man to death without warrant of law.

— *Charles A. Dana.*

It does not need demonstration that no country can go on to prosperity with society rotting at the foundations. A good many noble men and women are devoting their lives to the rescue of children, but it is only pecking round the edges of a great evil. The whole community must take up the matter seriously. I suppose it will do this when it sees that it is more economical, costly as it may be, to deal with nascent crime than with full-blown crime.

— *Charles Dudley Warner.*

The experience of the world has demonstrated the truth of the principle that punishment in itself exercises no reformatory influence; on the contrary, it hardens the man upon whom it is visited, and excites his companions in crime to reprisals. The first step in prison reform, everywhere, is classification of prisoners, which may or may not go to the extent

of individual separation, but which leads to a classification of prisons. By classification, the action and reaction of prisoners upon each other is checked, if not wholly prevented. The second step is kindness and conciliation, which prepare the prisoner for the reception of instruction, and incline him to yield to the influence brought to bear upon him for his conversion from an enemy into a friend of social order. The third is education, which includes not only religious instruction, but mental development, indoctrination in the laws of social life, and the acquisition of a trade or some other means of earning an honest livelihood. The last of these ends can only be secured by the introduction into prisons of organized and profitable labor, which has the further recommendation, that, by employing the prisoner's time and thoughts, it makes discipline more easy, while it also tends to reduce the cost of punishment.

— *Fred H. Wines.*

Define Anarchism.

It is the denial of the need of any government; it is the deification of disorder. It is political madness.

If liberty with law is fire on the hearth, liberty without law is fire on the floor.

— *George S. Hillard.*

Take away sovereignty from the state and liberty perishes. The difference between liberty and anarchy is, that the one is freedom under law, and the other freedom without law. Deprive the state of the power to make and execute the law, and you leave each individual to be a law unto himself. You reduce him to the status of a savage. — *Frank S. Hoffman.*

Two forces in their mutual play must dominate real human progress. Each of these forces is necessary to the completeness of the other. One is individualism, the centrifugal force, the sense of manhood, self-dependence, self-endeavor, self-control. This, become excessive and absolutely dominant, is the planet broken from its center, rushing from its orbit into destruction of itself and of other men's rights. This is anarchy.

— *T. Edwin Brown.*

Anarchy is abolition of right of property. It makes your store and your house and your money and your family mine, and mine yours. It is wholesale robbery. It is every man's hand against every other man. It is arson and murder and rapine and lust and death triumphant. It means no law, no church, no defense, no rights, no happiness, no God.

— *T. De Witt Talmage.*

The Anarchists are natural and avowed social rebels. The disease which we are examining is an old-fashioned one, with an old-fashioned name, which scarcely seems to have a place in science any longer; namely, sin, rebellion. It is said that Cain was the first anarchist. But there is a story of an older, and far more powerful anarchist, the king of all anarchists, that arch-rebel Satan. This does no injustice to the anarchists, because the founder of modern anarchy, Michael Bakounin, delights to honor Satan.

— *Richard T. Ely.*

Nihilism and Anarchism are going to be reckoned with as a social disease, and exterminated as fast as possible, always with the clear perception that they cannot overturn society or stampede modern governments.

— *Albert Shaw.*

Why does the Nation maintain an Army and a Navy?

To defend it from assault when necessary; to compel respect abroad, and, if threatened, to preserve the peace at home.

Washington may fitly be called the father, not only of his country, but as well of the regular army. With the clear sight of a great general he foresaw that, while a large standing army was to be feared as hostile to that civil liberty he and his compatriots of the Revolution had so gloriously struggled to establish in America, a well-organized, thoroughly disciplined, though small, body of regular troops was absolutely essential to the preservation of that same liberty, whether from foreign aggressions or internal strife.

— *Richard S. Tuthill.*

Standing armies, wherever necessary, — and they are necessary at present, as well as far preferable to the medieval militia, — ought to be as small as possible and completely dependent on the Legislature for their existence. Great standing armies, as we see in the different countries of the European continent, are wholly incompatible with civil liberty, by their spirit, number, and cost.

— *Francis Lieber.*

Experience has shown us the need of a small standing army to maintain the authority of the national government, and each state needs in its turn a well-organized, permanent force of militia, to maintain its own authority and support its government in the enforcement of its laws.

— *John M. Schofield.*

In relation to the increase of a permanent military force, a free people cannot cherish too great a jealousy. An army may wrest the power from the hands of the people, and deprive them of their liberty. It becomes us, therefore, to be extremely cautious how we augment it. — *James A. Bayard.*

It is a fact that the true defense of a nation of freemen lies in the moral qualities and righteous spirit of the people; it is, therefore, unnecessary for us to maintain such vast military establishments as we see in Europe; but there is a necessity for keeping alive in our Republic a knowledge of the art and science of war. — *Edwin C. Mason.*

All honor to the Army of the United States. Truly is its muster roll shorter than the list of its achievements. Yet amid all strictures, cavil, and carping it has a place well earned and warm in the heart of this people, for its generals have never sought to be dictators nor its regiments pretorian guards, and with them the safety of the country and the liberties of the people are secure. And long, long may it be so.

— *William E. Furness.*

Thou, too, sail on, O ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
Humanity with all its fears,
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!
We know what master laid thy keel,
What workmen wrought thy ribs of steel,
Who made each mast, and sail, and rope,
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,
In what a forge and what a heat

Were shaped the anchors of thy hope!
Fear not each sudden sound and shock, —
'Tis of the wave and not the rock;
'Tis but the flapping of the sail,
And not a rent made by the gale!
In spite of rock and tempest roar,
In spite of false lights on the shore,
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!
Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee!
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee, — are all with thee!

— *Henry W. Longfellow.*

THE WAR FOR THE UNION.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

*Yes, this is he who ruled a world of men
As might some prophet of the elder day,
Brooding above the tempest and the fray
With deep-eyed thought and more than mortal ken.
A power was his beyond the touch of art
Or armed strength: his pure and mighty heart.*

— RICHARD W. GILDER.

THE WAR FOR THE UNION.

What is meant by the Union?

This term is used to designate the Republic, the Nation formed by a union of all the states. The continuance of the Union has ever been regarded as essential to the prosperity and growth of the Republic, its destruction as the downfall of the Nation.

Whatever measures have a tendency to dissolve the Union, or contribute to violate or lessen the sovereign authority, ought to be considered as hostile to the liberty and independence of America, and the authors of them treated accordingly.

— *George Washington.*

I hold that, in contemplation of universal law, and of the Constitution, the union of these states is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination.

— *Abraham Lincoln.*

The Constitution of the United States was made not merely for the generation that then existed, but for posterity — un-

limited, undefined, endless, perpetual posterity. And every state that then came into the Union, and every state that has since come into the Union, came into it binding itself by indissoluble bands to remain within the Union itself, and to remain within it by its posterity forever. — *Henry Clay.*

This glorious Union is our world; while we maintain its integrity, all the nations of the earth must recognize our supremacy and pay us homage; disjointed, forming two or more fragmentary republics, we shall deserve and receive less consideration than the states of Barbary.

— *Daniel S. Dickinson.*

The Constitution is perpetual, not provisional or temporary. It is made for all time — “for ourselves and our posterity.” It is absolute within its sphere. “This Constitution shall be the supreme law of the land, anything in the constitution or laws of a state to the contrary notwithstanding.” Of what value, then, is a law of a state declaring its connection with the Union dissolved? The Constitution remains supreme, and is bound to assert its supremacy till overpowered by force.

— *John Lothrop Motley.*

While the Union lasts, we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us, for us and our children. Beyond that I seek not to penetrate the veil. God grant that in my day, at least, that curtain may not rise! God grant that on my vision never may be opened what lies behind! When my eyes shall be turned to behold, for the last time, the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on states dis-severed, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last

feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the Republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original luster, not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured, bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory as — What is all this worth? — nor those other words of delusion and folly — Liberty first and Union afterwards — but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart — Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable.

— *Daniel Webster.*

What is meant by Secession?

John C. Calhoun, Jefferson Davis, and others contended that the Union was not a nation of people bound together by ties which could only be broken by revolution, but that it was a confederacy composed of sovereign states that could secede at pleasure. In 1861, several Southern states passed ordinances of secession, which brought on a war for the preservation of the Union.

There is no direct and immediate connection between the individual citizens of a state and the general government. The relation between them is through the state. The Union is a union of states as communities, and not a union of individuals.

— *John C. Calhoun* (1833).

The right solemnly proclaimed at the birth of the states, and which has been affirmed and reaffirmed in the bills of rights of the states subsequently admitted into the Union of 1789, undeniably recognizes in the people the power to resume the authority delegated for the purposes of government. Thus the sovereign states here represented proceeded to form this Confederacy; and it is by the abuse of language that their act has been denominated revolution.

— *Jefferson Davis* (1861).

It is not a question of administration, but of government; not of politics, but of patriotism; not of policy, but of principles which uphold us all; a question too great for party; between the Constitution and the laws on one hand, and misrule and anarchy on the other; between existence and destruction.

— *Daniel S. Dickinson*.

In the four years from 1861 to 1865 it cost both sides, the North and the South, probably eight thousand millions of dollars in money, and it cost five hundred thousand lives to maintain the great conflict.

— *Charles Foster*.

It is safe to say that the total number of men furnished by the states and territories for the armies of the United States, after deducting those credited for service in the navy, will exceed 2,850,000 men.

— *Frederick Phisterer*.

The army which engaged in defense of the American Union, immense as its numbers, was composed of material the equal of which the world never before beheld in any army of the same magnitude. It was an army of free and independent volunteers, and many of whose soldiers in the ranks, if taken individually,

and examined and tested in all the attributes that constitute a man, were the peers of their own immediate commanding officers. It was an army entirely adapted, as no army ever was before, to the grandeur and importance of the cause it was raised to defend.

— *James E. Murdock.*

The last war—the recent Civil War—in the number of men engaged in it, in the capacity of the weapons and instruments of destruction brought into operation, and in the importance of the result to humanity at large, must be esteemed the greatest war that the history of the world presents.

— *Samuel F. Miller.*

How did the Civil War terminate ?

The Confederate armies were defeated ; the Confederacy was overthrown ; the Union was preserved ; slavery was destroyed. The Southern troops fought with great courage and endured many hardships, but they were finally overcome by the superior numbers and resources and the dauntless bravery of the Union armies.

The Nation triumphed, and in its triumph found new life—renewing its life by a fresh baptism in the fountains of its youth, from which flowed the sparkling and invigorating waters of impartial freedom and political equality, showering blessings upon victors and vanquished alike.

— *Stanley Matthews.*

Everywhere throughout our country the Union is regarded now as indissoluble, and everywhere the people rejoice that it is so. We are not to be two nations of Anglo-Saxon people

lying side by side, each, like the unhappy sections of the Old World, armed to the teeth on land and sea against its neighbor. We are to live under one flag, and this to be the guaranty to us of peace and prosperity; we are to constitute all together, North, South, East, and West, one government.

— *Hilary A. Herbert.*

I am grateful that slavery no longer exists, because it is better for the entire people of the South. It is better for our industries and our business, as proved by the crops that free labor makes. But by eminence it is better for our social and ethical development. We will now begin to take our right place among both the conservative and aggressive forces of the civilized and Christian world. — *Atticus G. Haygood.*

Our heroes died that there should not be sunken in the soil of this land, the cornerstone of an empire of slavery. They gave their lives to secure the soil of this continent to the freedom and the utmost elevation of all human beings who are to live upon it.. — *Richard H. Dana, Jr.*

By your patriotic devotion to your country in the hour of danger and alarm, your magnificent fighting, bravery, and endurance, you have maintained the supremacy of the Union and the Constitution, overthrown all armed opposition to the enforcement of the laws and of the proclamation forever abolishing slavery, — the cause and pretext of secession, — and opened the way to the rightful authorities to restore order and inaugurate peace on a permanent and enduring basis on every foot of American soil. Your marches, sieges, and battles, in distance, duration, resolution, and brilliancy of results, dim the luster of the world's past military achievements, and will be the patriot's precedent in defense of liberty and right in all time

to come. In obedience to your country's call, you left your homes and families, and volunteered in her defense. Victory has crowned your valor, and secured the purpose of your patriotic hearts; and with the gratitude of your countrymen, and the highest honors a great and free nation can accord, you will soon be permitted to return to your homes and families, conscious of having discharged the highest duties of American citizens. To achieve these glorious triumphs, and secure to yourselves, your fellow-countrymen, and posterity the blessings of free institutions, tens of thousands of your gallant comrades have fallen, and sealed the priceless legacy with their blood. The graves of these a grateful nation bedews with tears; it honors their memories, and will ever cherish and support their stricken families.

— *Ulysses S. Grant (Farewell to the Union Army).*

“Four hundred thousand men,
The brave, the good, the true,
In tangled wood, in mountain glen,
On battle plain, in prison pen,
Lie dead, for me and you;
Four hundred thousand of the brave
Have made our ransomed soil their grave,
For me and you, kind friends,
For me and you.”

— *Anonymous.*

Give a brief account of Abraham Lincoln.

He was inaugurated President of the United States March 4th, 1861, and was assassinated in April, 1865. By a very rare combination of the qualities of a great

leader, he carried the country triumphantly through the perils of the Civil War, and saved the Union. He is now universally conceded to be one of the greatest men of modern times.

I believe that in all the annals of our race, Abraham Lincoln is the finest example of an unknown man rising from obscurity and ascending to the loftiest heights of human grandeur. The conspicuous causes which produced this grand result were inborn strength, integrity of character, patriotic devotion, and the maturing influences of a free country.

—*James Speed.*

There, by his courage, his justice, his even temper, his fertile counsel, his humanity, he stood a heroic figure in the center of a heroic epoch. He is the true history of the American people in his time. Step by step he walked before them; slow with their slowness, quickening his march by theirs, the true representative of this continent; an entirely public man; father of his country, the pulse of twenty millions throbbing in his heart, the thought of their minds articulated by his tongue.

—*Ralph Waldo Emerson.*

This man, though he fell by an assassin, still fell under the permissive hand of God. He had some wise purpose in allowing him so to fall. What more could he have desired of life for himself? Were not his honors full? There was no office to which he could not aspire. The popular heart clung around him as around no other man. The nations of the world had learned to honor our chief magistrate. His fame was full, his work was done, and he sealed his glory by becoming the nation's great martyr for liberty.

—*Matthew Simpson.*

He was the North, the South, the East, the West,
 The thrall, the master, all of us in one ;
 There was no section that he held the best ;
 His love shone as impartial as the sun ;
 And so revenge appealed to him in vain,
 He smiled at it, as at a thing forlorn,
 And gently put it from him, rose and stood
 A moment's space in pain,
 Remembering the prairies and the corn
 And the glad voices of the field and wood.

* * * * *

And then when Peace set wing upon the wind
 And Northward flying fanned the clouds away,
 He passed as martyrs pass. Ah, who shall find
 The chord to sound the pathos of that day !
 Mid-April blowing sweet across the land,
 New bloom of freedom opening to the world,
 Loud peans of the homeward looking host,
 The salutations grand
 From grimy guns, the tattered flags unfurled ;
 But he must sleep to all the glory lost !

* * * * *

— *Maurice Thompson.*

Four years ago, oh, Illinois, we took from your midst an untried man, and from among the people. We return him to you a mighty conqueror. Not thine any more, but the nation's ; not ours, but the world's. Give him place, oh, ye prairies ! In the midst of this great continent his dust shall rest, a sacred treasure to myriads who shall pilgrim to that shrine to kindle anew their zeal and patriotism. Ye winds that move over the mighty places of the West, chant his requiem ! Ye

people, behold a martyr whose blood, as so many articulate words, pleads for fidelity, for law, for liberty !

— *Henry Ward Beecher.*

This bronze doth keep the very form and mold
Of our great martyr's face. Yes, this is he :
That brow all wisdom, all benignity ;
That human, humorous mouth ; those cheeks that hold
Like some harsh landscape all the summer's gold ;
That spirit fit for sorrow, as the sea
For storms to beat on ; the lone agony
Those silent, patient lips too well foretold.
Yes, this is he who ruled a world of men
As might some prophet of the elder day, —
Brooding above the tempest and the fray
With deep-eyed thought and more than mortal ken.
A power was his beyond the touch of art
Or armed strength : his pure and mighty heart.

— *Richard W. Gilder.*

What gives special luster to Lincoln's administration ?

His immortal Proclamation of Emancipation, by which four millions of slaves became free men, and slavery disappeared from the continent.

It had got to be midsummer, 1862. Things had gone on from bad to worse, until I felt that we had reached the end of our rope on the plan of operations we had been pursuing ; that we had about played our last card, and must change our tactics

or lose the game. I now determined upon the adoption of the emancipation policy, and without consultation with or the knowledge of the Cabinet, I prepared the original draft of the proclamation, and, after much anxious thought, called a Cabinet meeting on the subject. This was the last of July or the first part of the month of August, 1862. I said to the Cabinet that I had resolved upon this step, and had not called them together to ask their advice, but to lay the subject matter of the proclamation before them, suggestions as to which would be in order after they had heard it read.

— *Abraham Lincoln.*

We are thankful that God gave to Abraham Lincoln the decision and wisdom and grace to issue that proclamation, which stands high above all other papers which have been penned by uninspired men.

— *Matthew Simpson.*

There is no other individual act performed by any person on this continent that can be compared with it.

— *George S. Boutwell.*

The immense social and political forces which the existence of slavery in this country and the invincible repugnance to it of the vital principles of our state together generated, have had their play upon the passions and the interests of this people, have formed the basis of parties, divided sects, agitated and invigorated the popular mind, inspired the eloquence, inflamed the zeal, informed the understandings, and fired the hearts of three generations. At last the dread debate escaped all bounds of reason, and the nation in arms solved, by the appeal of war, what was too hard for civil wisdom. With our territory unmutilated, our Constitution uncorrupted, a united

people, in the last years of the century, crowns with a new glory the immortal truths of the Declaration of Independence, by the emancipation of a race. — *William M. Evarts.*

The Declaration of Independence was no more the natural, logical, and legitimate consequence of the struggle for colonial rights and liberties than the Emancipation Proclamation is the natural, logical, and legitimate consequence of our struggle for the Union. The Emancipation Proclamation is the true sister of the Declaration of Independence; it is the supplementary act; it is the Declaration of Independence translated from universal principle into universal fact. And the two great state papers will stand in the history of this country as the proudest monuments, not only of American statesmanship, American spirit, and American virtue, but also of the earnestness and good faith of the American heart. The Fourth of July, 1776, will shine with tenfold luster, for its glory is at last completed by the first of January, 1863.

— *Carl Schurz.*

A shout of joy from the redeemed is sent;
Ten thousand hamlets swell the hymn of thanks;
Our rivers roll exulting, and their banks
Send up hosannas to the firmament!
Fields, where the bondman's toil
No more shall trench the soil,
Seem now to bask in a serener day;
The meadow-birds sing sweeter, and the airs
Of heaven with more caressing softness play,
Welcoming man to liberty like theirs.
A glory clothes the land from sea to sea,
For the great land and all its coasts are free.

— *William Cullen Bryant.*

It was well to delay the steamers at the wharves until this edict could be put on board. It will be an insurance to the ship as it goes plunging through the sea with glad tidings to all people. Happy are the young, who find the pestilence cleansed out of the earth, leaving open to them an honest career. Happy the old, who see Nature purified before they depart. Do not let the dying die; hold them back to this world until you have charged their ear and heart with this message to other spiritual societies, announcing the amelioration of our planet.

— *Ralph Waldo Emerson.*

Name some of the illustrious men who were associated with Lincoln in the preservation of the Union.

The list is long, and includes such generals as Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, and Thomas; such naval officers as Farragut and Porter; such statesmen as Seward, Chase, Stanton, and Sherman; such governors as Andrew, Curtin, Morton, and Yates. It was the heroic age of the Nation and developed thousands of able men and patriotic women.

Jefferson Davis was President of the Southern Confederacy and General Robert E. Lee commanded the Southern armies with great skill. The Southern people showed remarkable courage, self-sacrifice, and fortitude.

Whether living or dead, the name of Grant will be forever associated with the few immortal names in American history

who have done most of all for the protection and defense of the American Union.

— *John Sherman.*

Grant entered the sulphurous flames of war almost unknown. It was with difficulty that he could obtain a command. Once set forward, Donelson, Shiloh, Vicksburg, Chickamauga, the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, Petersburg, and Appomattox were his footsteps. In four years he had risen, without political favor, from the bottom to the very highest command, not second to any living commander in any part of the world.

— *Henry Ward Beecher.*

Of commanding stature, martial bearing, and graceful carriage, the bare sight of General Sherman was enough to attract attention and excite admiration in any assemblage. He seemed by intuition to know all about nature, science, literature, and art; he was in public speech fluent, versatile, and forcible; his sharp, crisp, and striking utterances fell upon the ear like the rattle of musketry. He wrote as well as he talked, having a military directness and precision of statement that was almost classical in simplicity and strength. Born to command, he knew how to obey. Proud to do right, he was humility itself in the presence of duty. Possessed of all the autocratic power that belonged to his exalted rank, he never allowed himself to forget or disregard the rights of the humblest of his private soldiers.

— *James B. Foraker.*

The home-coming at the North was almost as sorrowful as at the South, because of those that came not. In all the festivities and rejoicings there was hardly a participator whose joy was not saddened by missing some well-known face and form now numbered with the silent three hundred thousand. Grant was there, the commander that had never taken a step

backward ; and Farragut was there, the sailor without an equal ; and the unfailing Sherman, and the patient Thomas, and the intrepid Hancock, and the fiery Sheridan, and the brilliant Custer and many of lesser rank, who in a smaller theater of conflict would have won a larger fame. But where was young Ellsworth? Shot dead as soon as he crossed the Potomac. And Winthrop — killed in the first battle, with his best books unwritten. And Lyon — fallen at the head of his little army in Missouri, the first summer of the war. And Baker — sacrificed at Ball's Bluff. And Kearny at Chantilly, and Reno at South Mountain, and Mansfield at Antietam, and Reynolds at Gettysburg, and Wadsworth in the Wilderness, and Sedgwick at Spottsylvania, and McPherson before Atlanta, and Craven in his monitor at the bottom of the sea, and thousands of others, the best and bravest, all gone — all, like Latour, the immortal captain, dead on the field of honor, but none the less dead and a loss to their mourning country.

— *Rossiter Johnson.*

How does the Nation show its appreciation of the services of its soldiers?

By granting pensions to the wounded and disabled and to the widows and orphans. Many costly and beautiful monuments have been erected to commemorate their valor ; their graves are decorated on Memorial Day ; the battlefields of Gettysburg and Chickamauga have been converted into National Parks, and monuments mark the positions of the contending forces.

We may adorn with loving tributes the resting place of our beloved dead; the flowers which are strewn may symbolize the living fragrance of their memory; but we shall honor them the most by having their example teach us to love our country more, to value its dearly purchased institutions more, to prize its manifold blessings more, and to advance its greatness and true glory more.

— *Schuyler Colfax.*

We honor our heroic and patriotic dead by being true men; as true men by faithfully fighting the battles of our day as they fought the battles of their day. The flower of a true and beautiful life is the flower to put upon the soldier's grave. Trueness to our country is the best way to honor the soldier who fell in the defense of his country.

— *David Gregg.*

Let our children know the names and deeds of the men who preserved the Union; let piety and patriotism sweetly unite in forming the character of our children, that we may have a race of loyal and noble Americans to carry forward the triumphs of liberty after those who won it have gone to their reward.

— *Robert S. MacArthur.*

They never fail who die
In a great cause. The block may soak their gore;
Their heads may sodden in the sun; their limbs
Be strung to city gates and castle walls;
But still their spirit walks abroad. Though years
Elapse, and others share as dark a doom,
They but augment the deep and sweeping thoughts
Which overpower all others, and conduct
The world at last to Freedom.

— *Byron.*

How grand the exhibitions of the same generous impulses, that characterize this memorable battlefield! (Gettysburg.)

My fellow-countrymen of the North, if I may be permitted to speak for those whom I represent, let me assure you that, in the profoundest depths of their nature, they reciprocate that generosity, with all the manliness and sincerity of which brave men are capable. In token of that sincerity they join in consecrating, for annual patriotic pilgrimage, these historic heights, which drank such copious draughts of American blood, poured so freely in discharge of duty, as each conceived it, — a Mecca for the North, which so grandly defended, — a Mecca for the South, which so bravely and persistently stormed it.

We join you in setting apart this land as an enduring monument of peace, brotherhood, and perpetual union. I repeat the thought, with additional emphasis, with singleness of heart and of purpose, in the name of a common country, and of universal human liberty; and, by the blood of our fallen brothers, we unite in the solemn consecration of these hallowed hills, as a holy, eternal pledge of fidelity to the life, freedom, and unity of this cherished Republic.

— *John B. Gordon.*

Breathe balmy airs, ye fragrant flowers,

O'er every silent sleeper's head;

Ye crystal dew and summer showers,

Dress in fresh green each lowly bed.

Strew loving offerings o'er the brave,

Their country's joy, their country's pride;

For us their precious lives they gave,

For Freedom's sacred cause they died.

Long, where on glory's fields they fell,

May Freedom's spotless banner wave,

And fragrant tributes grateful tell

Where live the free, where sleep the brave.

— *Samuel F. Smith.*

What was the influence of the Civil War upon American Patriotism?

It far exceeded that of any other event in our history; it was a patriotic epoch. More than four years were crowded with great battles and heroic deeds; men of splendid talents appeared in all the great posts of duty; the Republic proved itself able to resist the tremendous strain brought upon it. The war awakened enthusiasm at home, and commanded the respect of the world. When it was over, the army of civilian soldiers set a memorable example of patriotism by returning quietly to their homes, and resuming the avocations of peace. Four million slaves were converted into so many liberty-loving freemen. The South returned to its allegiance, and now vies with the North in patriotic devotion to the Union.

By the middle of the autumn nearly 786,000 officers and men were mustered out of the service, and had quietly resumed the peaceful occupations they had laid down at the call of the country. Never before, in the world's history, had such vast armies been dissolved so rapidly, without disorders of any kind, furnishing convincing proof, if any were needed, of the powers of the great Republic for self-government.

— *George H. Preble.*

The new South is enamored of her work. Her soul is stirred with the breath of a new life. The light of a grander

day is falling fair on her face. She is thrilling with the consciousness of growing power and prosperity. As she stands full-statured and equal among the peoples of the earth, breathing the keen air and looking out upon an expanding horizon, she understands that her emancipation came because, in the inscrutable wisdom of God, her honest purpose was crossed and her brave armies were beaten. — *Henry W. Grady.*

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations. — *Abraham Lincoln (Last Inaugural Address).*

The truth is, the war is over, and the country is whole again. The people, always homogeneous, have a common national interest. For my part, I have never believed in isothermal lines, air lines, and water lines separating distinct races. I no more believe that that river yonder, dividing Indiana and Kentucky, marks off two distinct species than I believe that the great Hudson, flowing through the State of New York, marks off distinct species. Such theories only live in the fancy of morbid minds. We are all one people. Commercially, financially, morally, we are one people. Divide as we will into parties, we are one people. It is this sense which gives a guarantee of peace and order at the South, and offers a sure and lasting escort to all the capital which may come to us for investment. — *Henry Watterson.*

The war built upon more certain and enduring foundations the government of the United States, and it stands upon a

broader and stronger basis than before. Were we honest in our convictions? Yes. Were we sincere in our allegiance to the Confederate States? Yes. Does this affect our loyalty to the government of the United States? Not at all. Loyalty, free and honest loyalty to the government as it is, is not repugnant to a past loyalty to that adolescent nation whose star shone with abnormal brilliancy for a few short years, and then vanished into the blackness of eternal night. The men who followed the "Stars and Bars" from Bethel to Appomattox with ceaseless devotion, defended them amid the whirlpool of blood that surged and eddied around Malvern Hill, carried them up the crimson slopes of Gettysburg, followed them into the jaws of death at Spottsylvania, shielded them like a tiger at bay over its young behind the earthworks of Petersburg, furlled them at Appomattox forever and forever. The duties, the obligations, the allegiance of a citizen, are not inconsistent with the sympathies and memories of a soldier; and if those dead heroes could defile before us, in the glory of yon setting sun, in serried ghostly phalanx, they would declare the gospel of loyalty and peace and reconciliation.

— *Charles M. Bushee.*

Was the War for the Union just?

Yes; it was a supreme act of national self-preservation. It was the patriotic, heroic effort of a free people to preserve their liberties, protect their Constitution, and save the life of the Nation. It was not a war of subjugation or of conquest.

In my view of the present aspect of affairs, there need be no bloodshed or war. There is no necessity for it. I am not in favor of such a course; and I may say in advance that there will be no bloodshed unless it be forced upon the government, and then it will be compelled to act in self-defence.

— *Abraham Lincoln.*

Let us remember that we owe it to our country and to mankind that this war shall have for its conclusion the establishing of the principle of democratic government, — the simple principle that whatever party, whatever portion of the community prevails by constitutional suffrage in an election, that party is to be respected and maintained in power until it shall give place, on another trial and another verdict, to a different portion of the people. If you do not do this, you are drifting at once and irresistibly to the very verge of universal, cheerless, and hopeless anarchy. But with that principle, this government of ours — the purest, the best, the wisest, and the happiest in the world — must be, and, so far as we are concerned, practically will be, immortal.

— *William H. Seward.*

What was our war? How should it be looked upon? It was not the result of men's ambition, North or South. It was not a contest for territory. It could not have been prevented, although it might have been postponed, by the action of any political party. Our war was simply fighting out, upon a new field, and under more enlightened auspices, a contest that had been waged for centuries among the people from whose loins we sprung. It was the clash of two civilizations, so antagonistic in their conceptions, so antipodal in their means and methods of development, as to make impossible harmony of action, or peaceful growth side by side. The North and South were in direct opposition as to the best methods of governing

and perpetuating the heritage left them by their fathers. Their conceptions were so radically different, that peaceful measures could not adjust or reconcile them. One or the other must yield.

— *George A. Sheridan.*

The practice and institution of slavery, legalized in an entire section of the country, made of us two peoples, instead of one. It divided the country into two sections, arrayed into hostile, political camps, which soon, and most logically, were converted into military camps. On our side, we fought for the maintenance of the Nation, in the interest of civil and political liberty. And if, on the other side, slavery was worth fighting for at all — which it was not — the war did not come too soon. For the time had come when the issue had to be met and settled whether slavery or the Nation should die; for both could not much longer live.

— *Stanley Matthews.*

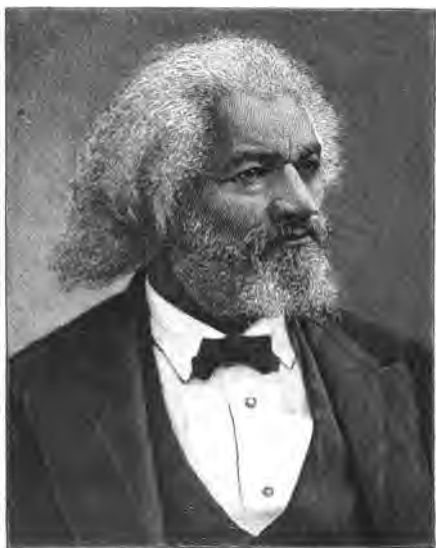
There grows a fair palmetto in the sunny Southern lands;
Upon the stern New England hills a somber pine tree stands;
And each towers like a monument above the perished brave;
A grave 'neath the palmetto — beneath the pine a grave.

The Carolina widow comes this bright May day to spread
Magnolia and jessamine above her soldier dead.
And the Northern mother violets strews upon her son below, —
Her only son, who fell so many weary years ago.

Tears for the gallant Yankee boy — one of Grant's heroes he;
Tears for the stalwart Southern man — the man who marched
with Lee;
But love, and only love, between the lonely ones who twine
Their wreaths 'neath the palmetto — their chaplets 'neath the
pine.

— *Manley H. Pike.*

THE NEGROES.



FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

*Let wrong and hatred cease ;
The races dwell in peace,
Throughout the land.
And Justice, — color-blind,
Take cognizance of Mind,
And all to each be kind,
From strand to strand.*

—WALTER H. BROOKS.

THE NEGROES.

Give some account of the Negroes.

They were originally brought from Africa and sold to the colonists as slaves. In their native country they were ignorant and degraded barbarians, some of them savages.

We have seen nothing to justify the notion that they are of a different "breed" or "species" from the most civilized. The African is a man, with every attribute of human kind.

— *David Livingstone.*

American slavery took root in Virginia,—“the mother of Presidents.” Unfortunate for her, unfortunate for the other colonies, and thrice unfortunate for the poor colored people, who, from 1619 to 1863, yielded their liberty, their toil,—unrequited,—their bodies and intellects to an institution that ground them to powder. No event in the history of North America has carried with it to the last analysis such terrible forces. It touched the brightest features of social life, and they faded under the contact of its poisonous breath. It affected legislation, local and national; it made and destroyed statesmen; it prostrated and bullied honest public sentiment;

it strangled the voice of the press, and awed the pulpit into silent acquiescence; it organized the judiciary of states, and wrote decisions for judges; it gave states their political being, and afterwards dragged them by the fore hair through the stormy sea of civil war, and through all time to come no event will be more sincerely deplored than the introduction of slavery into the colony of Virginia during the last days of the month of August in the year 1619.

— *George W. Williams.*

From the earliest monuments it appears that one race was victim and served the other races. In the oldest temples of Egypt, Negro captives are painted on the tombs of kings in such attitudes as to show that they are on the point of being executed; and Herodotus, our oldest historian, relates that the Troglodytes hunted the Ethiopians in four-horse chariots. From the earliest time the Negro has been an article of luxury to the commercial nations. So has it been down to the day that has just dawned on the world.

— *Ralph Waldo Emerson.*

The slaves at first did not speak English, and they practiced many wild customs, especially at the burial of their dead. Some of them were fierce, and the white people were afraid of them. Great harshness was used to subdue them. The Negroes often made bloody insurrections, which were put down with great severity. One of these was in New York city in 1712. Twenty-four Negroes were put to death on this occasion, some of them in the cruel ways used in that time. In 1740 there was an uprising of slaves in South Carolina, and a battle between them and the white people, in which the Negroes were routed. In 1741, on a bare suspicion of intended insurrection, thirty-three slaves were executed in New York,

thirteen of them by fire. Like severity was shown in other colonies, for people were more cruel in that day than in later times.

— *Edward Eggleston.*

The first glimpses of our history in this country make it evident that our mission here is providential and peculiar. Although every page of this history, from 1620 to 1863, is written in blood and tears, it was the carrying out of a Divine plan,—the execution of a part of the great work of God. Some one may ask, Can you look at your ancestors torn from their native land, see children separated from parents and wives from husbands, and say it was God's plan? Can you bring to mind the horrors of the "middle passage," and then follow the wrongs, cruelties, and inhumanities of more than two centuries and say it is God's way? I answer, yes. The slave trade meant evil, but God overruled it for good. In this, the wrath of men is to praise Him.

— *J. C. Price.*

On him alone was the doom of pain,
From the morning of his birth;
On him alone the curse of Cain
Fell, like a flail on the garnered grain,
And struck him to the earth.

— *Henry W. Longfellow.*

Was their condition improved by Slavery?

In many respects it was. They were brought into contact with a civilized, intelligent people; they learned the English language; acquired habits of industry; imbibed a love of freedom and a desire

for education. Multitudes of them were converted to Christianity. But any benefits arising from slavery were incidental; the system was essentially bad.

It is a matter of great anxiety and concern to me that the slave trade is sometimes perpetrated under the flag of liberty, our dear, noble stars and stripes, to which virtue and glory have been constant standard bearers. I would never have drawn my sword in the cause of America could I have conceived that thereby I was founding a land of slavery.

— *Marquis de Lafayette.*

Enslave a man and you destroy his ambition, his enterprise, his capacity. In the constitution of human nature, the desire of bettering one's condition is the mainspring of effort. The first touch of slavery snaps this spring. — *Horace Mann.*

Every benefit which slavery conferred upon those subject to it, all the ameliorating and humanizing tendencies it introduced into the life of the African, all the elevating agencies which lifted him higher in the scale of rational moral being, were the elements of the future and inevitable destruction of the system.

— *L. Q. C. Lamar.*

I, for one, thank God that there is no longer slavery in these United States. I am persuaded that I only say what the vast majority of our people feel and believe. I do not forget the better characteristics of African slavery as it existed among us for so long a time under the sanction of national law and under the protection of the Constitution of the United States; I do not forget that its worst features were often cruelly exaggerated, and that its best were unfairly

minified; more than all, I do not forget that, in the providence of God, a work that is without a parallel in history was done on the Southern plantations,—a work that was begun by such men as Bishop Capers, of South Carolina, Lovick Pierce and Bishop Andrew, of Georgia, and by men like minded with them,—a work whose expenses were met by the slaveholders themselves,—a work that resulted in the Christianizing of a full half million of the African people, who became communicants of our churches, and of nearly the whole four or five millions who were brought largely under the all-pervasive and redeeming influence of our holy religion.

— *Atticus G. Haygood.*

The Negro race was to be preserved for a special and important work in the future. Of the precise nature of that work, no one can form any definite conception. It is probable that if foreign races had been allowed to enter their country they would have been destroyed. So they were brought over to be helpers in this country and at the same time to be preserved. It was not the first time in the history of the world that a people have been preserved by subjection to another people. We know that God promised Abraham that his seed would inherit the land of Canaan; but when he saw that in their numerically weak condition they would have been destroyed in conflicts with indigenous inhabitants, he took them down to Egypt and kept them there in bondage four hundred years that they might be fitted, both by discipline and numerical increase, for the work that would devolve upon them. Slavery would seem to be a strange school in which to preserve a people; but God has a way of salting as well as purifying by fire.

— *E. W. Blyden.*

What was the character of Slavery ?

Slavery violated the principles of the Declaration of Independence, as well as the Scriptural injunction to "love thy neighbor as thyself." There were kind-hearted masters, who treated their slaves well, but the system that regarded human beings as chattels dwarfed the slave and degraded the master. The abolition of slavery marked an era in civilization.

The United States are far from being irreproachable; it is undoubtedly very inconsistent with their declarations on the subject of human rights to permit a single slave to be found within their jurisdiction.

— *John Jay* (1788).

Slavery discourages arts and manufactures. The poor despise labor when performed by slaves. It prevents the immigration of whites, who really strengthen and enrich a country. It produces the most pernicious effect on manners. Every master of slaves is born a petty tyrant. It brings the judgment of heaven on a country. As nations cannot be rewarded or punished in the next world, they must be in this. By an inevitable chain of causes and effects, Providence punishes national sins by national calamities.

— *George Mason*.

The worst evil this Nation has ever ended was the sale of human beings.

— *St. Clair McKelway*.

A man's right to freedom inheres in him as a man, and nothing which does not touch his humanity can impair it.

— *William E. Channing*.

If I could be instrumental in eradicating this deepest stain, slavery, from the character of our country, I would not exchange the proud satisfaction which I should enjoy, for the honor of all the triumphs ever decreed to the most successful conqueror.

— *Henry Clay.*

Without abating one jot or tittle of loyal devotion to the memory of our Confederate dead, we can here, in the presence of their graves, turn our eyes to heaven and exclaim, Thank God! slavery, that material curse and moral incubus, has been lifted from our sky! Yes! even though it could spend its fury only in the lightning and thunder of war.

— *William H. Fleming.*

Genuine abolitionism is not a hobby, got up for personal or social aggrandizement; it is not a political ruse; it is not a spasm of sympathy, which lasts but for a moment, leaving the system weak and worn; it is not a fever of enthusiasm; it is not the fruit of fanaticism; it is not a spirit of faction. It is of heaven, not of men. It lives in the heart as a vital principle. It is an essential part of Christianity, and aside from it there can be no humanity. Its scope is not confined to the slave population of the United States, but embraces mankind. Opposition cannot weary it out, force cannot put it down, fire cannot consume it. It is the spirit of Jesus, who was sent to "bind up the broken-hearted; to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound; to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of vengeance of our God." Its principles are self-evident, its measures rational, its purposes merciful and just. It cannot be diverted from the path of duty, though all earth and hell oppose; for it is lifted far above all earth-born fear. When it fairly takes possession of the soul, you

may trust the soul-carrier anywhere, that he will not be recreant to humanity. In short, it is a life, not an impulse—a quenchless flame of philosophy, not a transient spark of sentimentalism.

— *William Lloyd Garrison.*

What was the action of the Negroes during the Civil War?

Most of them remained quietly at their homes, working as usual for their masters, to whom they were frequently strongly attached. In their absence, many slaves took charge of the plantations and cared for the wives and children of their masters; some accompanied them as body servants; multitudes flocked into the Union lines; nearly two hundred thousand enlisted as soldiers in the Union army, and evinced great courage on numerous battlefields.

At the beginning of the War it was given out that no Negro need apply. He was not to be allowed to shoulder a musket, carry a knapsack, or wear a Union uniform. The glory of the battlefield was to be won wholly by white men. The Negro might dig, but not fight. He might be a servant, but not a soldier. He might carry a pickax, but never a musket. Time and events helped the Negro and the nation in the solution of this problem, and Fort Wagner, Port Hudson, Vicksburg, James Island, Olustee, Petersburg, Richmond—a great cloud of witnesses rise before us to solve the problem of the Negro's soldierly qualities.

— *Frederick Douglass.*

The hardest fighting at Petersburg was done by the black troops. The forts they stormed were the worst of all. After the affair was over, General Smith went to thank them and tell them he was proud of their courage and dash. He says they cannot be excelled as soldiers, and that hereafter he will send them into a difficult place as readily as the best white troops.

— *Edwin M. Stanton.*

For the Negro the war proved a complete revolution; in the first place cruelly rejected and driven back into bondage, then accepted only for menial service, afterwards partially freed and received into military service but with grave doubts and much prejudice. The doubts and prejudice he overcame by exhibiting discipline and bravery of a high order, and by showing himself the white soldier's able and faithful friend in every place of need. When the war ended, we had received the efficient aid of 187,000 Negro soldiers, who had demonstrated, beyond a possible doubt, their right to freedom, and who had nobly helped to earn for their brethren the justly deserved dignity of American freemen.

— *George E. Sutherland.*

During the war, when the black man knew that his liberty was the gage, when he knew the battle was to decide whether he should or should not be free, although the country for hundreds of miles was stripped bare of able-bodied white men, and though property and the lives of the women and children were at the mercy of the slave, there never was an instance of arson, or assassination, or rapine, or conspiracy, and there never was an uprising. They stood still, conscious of their power, and said, "We will see what God will do for us." Such a history has no parallel.

— *Henry Ward Beecher.*

History has no parallel to the faith kept by the Negro in the South during the war. Often five hundred Negroes to a single white man, and yet through these dusky throngs the women and children walked in safety, and the unprotected homes rested in peace. Unmarshaled, the black battalions moved patiently to the fields in the morning to feed the armies their idleness would have starved, and at night gathered anxiously at the big house to "hear the news from marster," though conscious that his victory made their chains enduring. Everywhere humble and kindly. The bodyguard of the helpless. The rough companion of the little ones. The observant friend. The silent sentry in his lowly cabin. The shrewd counsellor. And when the dead came home, a mourner at the open grave. A thousand torches would have disbanded every Southern army, but not one was lighted. When the master, going to a war in which slavery was involved, said to his slave, "I leave my home and loved ones in your charge," the tenderness between man and master stood disclosed.

— *Henry W. Grady.*

Dark as the clouds of even,
Ranked in the western heaven,
Waiting the breath that lifts
All the dead mass, and drifts
Tempest and falling brand
Over a ruined land, —
So still and orderly,
Arm to arm, knee to knee,
Waiting the great event,
Stands the black regiment.
"Freedom!" their battle cry, —
"Freedom! or leave to die!"

Ah! and they meant the word,
Not as with us 'tis heard,
Not a mere party shout;
They gave their spirits out,
Trusted the end to God,
And on the gory sod
Rolled in triumphant blood.
Glad to strike one free blow,
Whether for weal or woe;
Glad to breathe one free breath,
Though on the lips of death;
Praying, — alas! in vain! —
That they might fall again,
So they could once more see
That burst to liberty!
This was what “freedom” lent
To the black regiment. —George H. Boker.

What is the present condition of the Negroes?

They number about eight millions; public schools have been established for them in all the Southern states; philanthropists have given large sums to establish Christian schools for them; multitudes of them are becoming educated to a greater or less degree. They own considerable property, and some have risen to eminence as orators and leaders. About one million live in the Northern states.

The American Negro in these days is not the African Negro in his degraded days. The American Negro is quite another

product. He is civilized, Americanized, and largely Christianized. He is Anglo-Saxonized to a great degree. In many cases the so-called Negro is more Saxon than Negro. He is racially, nationally, educationally, and religiously a new creature. His actualities are marvelous to men; his potentialities only God can rightly estimate. Our Negro students are pushing forward with a vigor and success as inspiring as wonderful. All the great colleges of the North are open to the Negro; Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Chicago, Rochester, and Hamilton offer a helping hand. There is no treasury of wealth in library or museum, or in brain of professors, to which he is not welcome. He has already won honors in the most famous colleges of America and of the world. He has proved his ability as a scholar as truly as his bravery as a soldier. He is climbing up the heights of fame, and soon will stand upon its sun-kissed summit.

— *Robert S. MacArthur.*

Whether the Negro could be educated, was a problem; and I think this has been solved to the satisfaction of all candid men. He would be a dishonest man, or an amazingly stupid one who, in the face of the thousands of Negro teachers, and the hundreds of Negro preachers, doctors, lawyers, authors, and editors, with which the country is now studded, who should insist, as it once was insisted, that education was impossible to the Negro.

But the greatest problem was whether he could with safety be made free. Good men knew that slavery was wrong, but how to get rid of it was the great question. Neither the pulpit, nor the press, nor the statesman, could see a solution of this great problem, and yet that problem has been solved. The Negro is free, and the country is cleansed of its greatest curse, crime, and scandal.

— *Frederick Douglass.*

The years past have enabled us to give to the civilizing agencies of the country a just proportion of skilled mechanics, contractors, farmers, merchants, successful journalists, physicians, and eminent lawyers. These, with their accumulations, are the personal accessories of an advanced civilization. To have succeeded in the years that are past is not enough; but to be more successful in the future should be our constant aim.

— *Joshua A. Brockett.*

The Negro has falsified the predictions of his enemies, and dispelled the fears of his friends. They said he would give himself to riot and plunder; but he earned the gratitude of the South by his fidelity to the family and the plantation, while his master was fighting against his freedom. They said the freedman would not work, but he raised in one year nearly four million bales of cotton.

What grander enterprise can there be than to take up the cause of a race like this, — the pariahs of the peoples, — distrusting their old guides and suspecting their present leaders, and prepare for them with timely zeal, and by wise methods, an army of educators who shall give tone to their character, direction to their ideas, and by molding the now plastic material secure a well-laid foundation, upon which the workmen of the future shall build to the honor of the race and of the nation, and to the glory of God?

— *Samuel C. Armstrong.*

What was accomplished by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution?

The Fourteenth Amendment conferred citizenship upon the Negroes who had been slaves, and the Fif-

teenth prohibited any state from abridging their right to vote because of their color.

The very best thing we can do for the black man, or for the white, is to strive with all our might to promote and secure the establishment of his inalienable rights. — *John Swinton.*

What we want to do is to get the American idea into the Negro — that he is an American citizen; that race counts for nothing, and manhood for everything. He must be made to feel that he must fear nothing because he is a black man, and that he is to expect no favor because he is a black man.

— *Henry L. Morehouse.*

The paramount need, now, of the colored people, in order that they may continue to advance in intelligence, morality, religious life, industry, and business capacity, is leaders. They need leaders in every department of practical life, in the pulpit and in the schoolroom; leaders who shall not be contented with a smattering of an education, but who shall pursue a broad and liberal course of training. They need leaders who shall receive a training which will develop that strong and practical manhood and womanhood which will command the respect of white and colored alike; which will face and overcome difficulties, and which will grasp aright the problems affecting the development of their race, and devise and execute broad and effective plans for the right solution of these problems.

— *Malcolm MacVicar.*

All honor to the heroism, patriotism, and philanthropy of the men, through whom the providence of God has forever placed that great truth in the fundamental Constitution of our

Republic, so that liberty, equality, and fraternity are no longer the unrealized dreams of the philanthropist; no longer the mere motto of radical agitators or communistic pretenders, but a recognized and prominent element in the civil compact of the foremost nation on earth. And there may it stand forever, a beacon light rebuking despotism and tyranny, and an inspiration and guide to the struggling but bewildered pioneers of liberty and humanity. — *Phineas C. Lounsbury.*

To those who tell us that there is a danger line in Negro education, that if they learn too much they will be too vain or too ambitious to be laborers, we reply that we have got to risk it. It is a bigger risk to have your voters ignorant. We do not propose to build the structure of our American institutions on the rim of a volcano. An ignorant suffrage is a boiling, bubbling volcano. You can't go backward. You must go forward, with all its risk. Do I say with all its risk? Nay, with all its beneficent blessing; nay, more, with all its justice. — *William Hayes Ward.*

During many years to come the colored man will have to endure prejudice against his race and color, but this constitutes no problem. The world was never yet without prejudice. There exists prejudice in favor of and against classes among men of the same race and color. There is prejudice between religious sects and denominations; between families and individuals. The time may never come this side the millennium when men will not ask "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" But what business has government, state or national, with these prejudices? Why should grave statesmen concern themselves with them? The business of government is to hold its broad shield over all and to see that every American citizen

is alike and equally protected in his civil and personal rights. My confidence is strong and high in the nation as a whole. I believe in its justice and its power. I believe that it means to keep its word with its colored citizens. I believe in its progress, in its moral as well as its material civilization. Its trend is in the right direction. Its fundamental principles are sound. Its conception of humanity and of human rights is clear and comprehensive. Its progress is fettered by no State religion tending to repress liberal thought; by no order of nobility tending to keep down the toiling masses; by no divine-right theory tending to national stagnation under the idea of stability. It stands out free and clear with nothing to obstruct its view of the lessons of reason and experience.

— *Frederick Douglass.*

What freeman knoweth freedom? Never he
Whose father's fathers through long lives have reigned
O'er kingdoms that mere heritage attained;
Though from his youth to age he roam as free
As winds, he dreams not freedom's ecstasy.
But he whose birth was in a nation chained
For centuries, where every breath was drained
From breasts of slaves which knew not there could be
Such thing as freedom, — he beholds the light
Burst, dazzling; though the glory blind his sight
He knows the joy. Fools laugh because he reels
And wields confusedly his infant will;
The wise man watcheth with a heart that feels
And says: "Cure for freedom's harms, is freedom still."

— *Helen Hunt Jackson.*

CIVIL LIBERTY.



THE STATUE OF LIBERTY.

*Place me where Winter breathes his keenest air,
And I will sing, if liberty be there ;
And I will sing at liberty's dear feet,
In Afric's torrid clime, or India's fiercest heat.*

— WILLIAM COWPER.

CIVIL LIBERTY.

Define Civil Liberty.

Civil Liberty is the privilege of living according to one's inclinations, and enjoying the free use of one's own property under the sanctions of the law and the protection of the state ; it includes freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of the ballot, freedom of locomotion, and freedom of association. A free people enact their own laws and elect their own rulers.

Freedom — absence of physical and moral coercion.

— *Henry Sidgwick.*

The right of personal security consists in a person's legal and uninterrupted enjoyment of his life, his limbs, his body, his health, and his reputation.

— *William Blackstone.*

Freedom is the power, by which man can do what does not interfere with the rights of another ; its basis is nature ; its standard is justice ; its protection is law ; its moral boundary is the maxim : *Do not unto others what you do not wish they should do unto you.*

— *French Constitution (1793).*

What is liberty without wisdom and without virtue? It is the greatest of all possible evils; for it is folly, vice, and madness, without tuition or restraint. — *Edmund Burke.*

The liberty which our fathers planted, and for which they sturdily contended, and under which they grandly conquered, is a rational and temperate, but brave and unyielding freedom, — the august mother of institutions, the hardy nurse of enterprise, the sworn ally of justice and order: a liberty that lifts her awful and rebuking face equally upon the cowards who would sell, and the braggarts who would pervert, her precious gifts of rights and obligations. — *Edwin P. Whipple.*

License and liberty have their common origin in the human will, but, at the same time, liberty proceeds from reason, and license from passion. As a consequence, liberty is naturally well regulated, circumspect, and moderate, without requiring the intervention of any restrictive law. Liberty, legally unlimited, keeps within the bounds which the general welfare, morality, and self-respect assign to it, of its own accord, and almost without effort. It emanates from a sentiment of our own dignity, and is its most powerful safeguard. License knows neither rule nor moderation; it recognizes no law; neither morality nor human respect restrains it. It is inspired by caprice, seeks only momentary gratification, and makes no sacrifice in the interests of the future. — *Maurice Block.*

This is the appropriate region of human liberty. It comprises, first, the inward domain of consciousness; demanding liberty of conscience, in the most comprehensive sense; liberty of thought and feeling; absolute freedom of opinion and sentiment on all subjects, practical or speculative, scientific, moral, or theological. Secondly, the principle requires liberty

of tastes and pursuits; of framing the plan of our life to suit our own character; of doing as we like, subject to such consequences as may follow, without impediment from our fellow-creatures, so long as what we do does not harm them, even though they should think our conduct foolish, perverse, or wrong. Thirdly, from this liberty of each individual, follows the liberty, within the same limits, of combination among individuals; freedom to unite, for any purpose not involving harm to others: the persons combining being supposed to be of full age, and not forced or deceived.

— *John Stuart Mill.*

What is the basis of Human Freedom?

The Divine Will. God, who is a free Being, has conferred upon man the highest dignity by creating him in His own likeness. By his very constitution, he is entitled to liberty; without it, he can never attain to his highest development. The more free he is, the more he resembles his Creator. Manhood is dwarfed by any sort of bondage.

The God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time.

— *Thomas Jefferson.*

At the root of gentlemanhood, in a soil of deep, moral inwardness, lies a high self-respect,—not the pert, spoiled child of individual self-estimation,—but a growth from the consciousness of illimitable claims as an independent, infinite soul.

— *George H. Calvert.*

Liberty, in its absolute sense, means the faculty of willing and the power of doing what has been willed, without influence from any other source, or from without. It means self-determination; unrestrainedness of action. In this absolute meaning there is but one free Being, because there is but one Being whose will is absolutely independent of any influence but that which He wills himself, and whose power is adequate to His absolute will — who is almighty. — *Francis Lieber.*

When we examine into the essence of freedom, and seek to understand that sacred blessing which man prizes higher than all besides, we must pass beyond the bounds of law and of the state and seek its roots in nature and in God.

— *Johann K. Bluntschli.*

Love of liberty is a virtue, an acquisition, not an instinct. We all enjoy freedom from restraints and dictations. But liberty is self-government, — that is, war against invasions by the lower propensities. It is picket duty against the animal in us. This virtue, like the rest, matures slowly. You cannot put this religious liberty upon a man like a cloak; you cannot fill him with it as you can fill a sack with wheat. It must grow up with the increase of his measurements. It must wind its rootlets into the invisible interstices between the fibers, between the cell-tissues of his intellect, of his spiritual nature.

— *Charles H. Fowler.*

The authority of the state cannot control the inner life, it can judge none for opinion's sake, it can by no enactment direct the course of the spirit; it is not to invade the conscience and thought, it is not to regulate the dispositions of men; it cannot determine their love or hate or thoughts. These are withdrawn from the state, and over them the state.

neither has the power nor is it called upon to rule. As the freedom of the inner spirit is beyond external power, the rights of the spirit cannot therefore embody themselves in the formal sphere of positive rights but the nation is to guard them from all attempt at invasion from the external sphere, and to forbid every attempt to bring force to bear upon them, and is to secure and maintain the freedom of conscience and of thought, the freedom of worship and of science.

— *Elisha Mulford.*

Oh liberty ! the prisoner's pleasing dream,
The poet's muse, his passion, and his theme ;
Genius is thine, and thou art fancy's nurse.
Lost without thee the ennobling powers of verse ;
Heroic song from thy sweet touch acquires
Its clearest tone, the rapture it inspires.

— *William Cowper.*

Define Freedom of Thought.

Freedom of thought means the right of every rational being to form his own opinions. He has the right to use his own faculties in observing, reflecting, weighing evidence, comparing and judging. He may reëxamine the basis or argument for any opinion, may accept or reject it, and may form independent opinions on new subjects in any realm of thought — social, philosophical, political, or religious.

As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he.

— *Proverbs of Solomon.*

We live in deeds, not years; in thoughts, not breaths;
In feelings, not in figures on a dial.

We should count time by heart-throbs. He most lives
Who thinks most, feels the noblest, acts the best.

— *Philip James Bailey.*

To the mass of people nothing is so costly as thought. The fact that, taking the world over, ninety-nine people out of a hundred accept the creed to which they were born, exemplifies their mental attitude towards things at large. Nearly all of them pursue mechanically the routine to which they have been accustomed, and are not only blind to its defects, but will not recognize them as defects when they are pointed out.

— *Herbert Spencer.*

The way to freedom is without intricacies; it is not an exotic. Real and substantial freedom proceeds from within and not from without, and depends not upon the terror of the sword, but on sobriety of conduct and integrity of life. Such liberty is the fruit of justice, of temperance and unadulterated virtue, and cannot be taken away by treachery or intimidation. Unless the horizon of the mind is cleared of the mists of superstition which arise from ignorance, you will always have those who will bend your necks to the yoke as if you were brutes; who will put you up to the highest bidder as if you were mere booty made in war, and will find an exuberant source of wealth in your ignorance and superstition. You, therefore, who wish to be free, cease to be fools and learn to be wise.

— *John Milton.*

A thinking man is the worst enemy the Prince of Darkness can have: every time such a one announces himself, I doubt.

not there runs a shudder through the nether empire; and new emissaries are trained, with new tactics to, if possible, entrap him and hoodwink and handcuff him. — *Thomas Carlyle.*

The right and duty of free inquiry. We may call it by various names,—the right of private judgment, freedom of thought and speech, the claims of personal opinion. By whatever designation it is known, it is assumed to be an inalienable possession, involved in the nature of man as man, becoming more and more pronounced as the questions and interest with which it deals deepen in their significance. In theology, philosophy, literature, and morals; in matters of social and economic import; in the multiplied topics that emerge from the daily evolution of individual and public life, intelligent men may think, and ought to think, for themselves just to the degree in which they are intelligent, and recognize their status as rational and accountable beings. The Biblical statement, that “every man must give account of himself to God,” is not confined in its application to the day of final judgment, nor, indeed, to the special sphere of moral conduct in this life, but covers a scope as wide as the area of human relationships. Personal accountability applies to our intellectual as as well as our ethical judgments. — *Theodore W. Hunt.*

Freedom is recreated year by year,
In hearts wide open on the Godward side,
In souls calm-cadenced as the whirling sphere,
In minds that sway the future like a tide.
No broadest creeds can hold her, and no codes;
She chooses men for her august abodes,
Building them fair and fronting to the dawn.

— *James Russell Lowell.*

What are the limitations to Freedom of Thought?

The constitution of Nature. Truth is fixed and unchangeable; thinking is imperfect, and opinions are variable. Thinking, to be sound, must correspond with facts. No amount of thinking can alter the facts, that two and two make four; that a straight line is the shortest distance between two points; that murder is crime. These are well-established limits of thought that must be observed, in order to insure sound judgments. To reach wise conclusions on any subject, we must know the essential facts, weigh the arguments, be unbiased and candid, and must reason correctly.

Search for the truth is the noblest occupation of man; its publication a duty.

— *Madame de Staël.*

Thought is not free in the sense that every one may think just what he pleases and how he pleases upon every conceivable subject. Thought is bound by the law of evidence. Force alone cannot affect thought, but law in its necessary rule can, and in submitting to law, thought merely follows the essential conditions of its nature.

— *J. de Concilio.*

Independent thinking is always painful, and seldom brought into active operation. It is so much more easy to read than to think, and to refer to the opinions of other men than to form and sustain any opinions of our own, that the love of mental ease may be justly considered as one chief occasion of the errors which prevail in the world.

— *Benjamin Brook.*

High walls and huge the body may confine,
And iron gates obstruct the prisoner's gaze,
And massive bolts may baffle his design,
And vigilant keepers watch his devious ways;
Yet scorns the immortal mind this base control!
No chains can bind it, and no cell inclose;
Swifter than light, it flies from pole to pole,
And in a flash from earth to heaven it goes!
It leaps from mount to mount; from vale to vale
It wanders, plucking honeyed fruits and flowers;
It visits home, to hear the fireside tale,
Or in sweet converse pass the joyous hours.
'Tis up before the sun, roaming afar,
And, in its watches, wearies every star!

— *William Lloyd Garrison.*

The power of thought has been given to us for the discernment of the truth, and there are no proper limits to its exercise but those which the truth itself has set. Freedom of thought is an inalienable birthright of the human soul. To abridge it through governmental interference by punishing one for his opinion is an intolerable despotism. Freedom of speech and of the press follow from the right of free thought, and these are especially guarded in our different constitutions, the Constitution of the Union declaring that Congress shall make no law abridging "the freedom of speech or of the press." But here we need to note the difference between freedom and license. Freedom of speech or of the press does not mean unlimited permission to speak or write or print whatever one pleases. However unlimited may be one's right to his own opinions, he may by uttering these invade the rights of others, and this he has no right to do. He may not

become a disturber of the public peace by inciting, through speech or print, to sedition or public violence. He may not become a corrupter of morals by printing pestilential literature. He may not injure the good name of another by slander or libel. It may not be always easy to determine just when and where governmental interference should take place, but the principle is clear, that while every person may hold his own opinions without molestation from the government, any expression of these which interferes with the public freedom the public through its government has the right to put down.

— *Julius H. Seelye.*

Why should we cultivate our Powers of Thought?

Our opinions are of much more value to us when they are the result of our own thinking. Our pleasure is greatly enhanced by the power of vigorous thought; our usefulness depends very much upon it, as does our health, happiness, success in business and often, indeed, life itself. Every citizen of a republic ought to be able to think independently and soundly, so as to know what his rights and his privileges are, as well as to fit him for the discharge of his responsibilities.

Thought takes man out of servitude into freedom.

— *Ralph Waldo Emerson.*

For after everything has been said, it remains true that the world is ruled by its thinkers.

— *Seth Low.*

Thought by thought is piled, till some great truth
Is loosened, and the nations echo round,
Shaken to their roots, as do the mountains now.

— *Percy Bysshe Shelley.*

All that there is in what we call To-day is in the life of thought; thought is the spirit's breath. To think is to live; for he who thinks not has no sense of life. Wouldst thou make the most of life, wouldst thou have the joy of the present, let Thought's invisible shuttle weave full in the loom of Time the moment's passing threads. To think is to live; but with how many are these passing hours as so many loose filaments, never woven together nor gathered, but scattered, raveling, so many flying ends, confused and worthless! Time and life unfilled with thought are useless, unenjoyed, bringing no pleasure for the present, storing no good for future need. To-day is the golden chance, wherewith to snatch Thought's blessed fruition,—the joy of the Present, the hope of the Future. Thought makes the time that is, and thought the eternity to come.

— *H. Withington.*

That which most elevates man over the brute orders of creation, is the capacity with which he is endowed to conceive of higher and better forms of life and action than the actual world exhibits, and the desire to make his conception real; and it is this capacity which distinguishes the highest and noblest of individuals of the race from their fellows. Its sphere of activity is in the realm of thought, and it penetrates every quarter of that realm. Dissatisfied with each successive conception which it forms, ever reaching forward and beyond its present attainments, it aspires to grasp the infinite and the absolute. In philosophy it disdains apparent causes, and mounting up from one antecedent to another, essays to pass "the flaming

bounds of Place and Time," and find the one absolute cause. In poetry and the fine arts it is tantalized with the dream of a beauty which all nature suggests, but nowhere reveals. In morals it finds every form of excellence tainted with the presence of evil and wrong, and struggles against the everlasting barriers which oppose its progress toward the absolute good.

—*James C. Carter.*

A Palace richly furnished is the mind,
In whose fair chambers we may walk at will;
And in its cloistered calm, serene and still,
Continual delight and comfort find.
Not only fretful cares we leave behind,
But restless happiness, and hopes that fill
The eager soul with too much light, until
Eyes dazzled see less wisely than the blind.
So perfect is the joy we find therein,
No pleasures of the outer world compare
With the divine repose so gladly sought;
When from the wearying world we turn to win
High mental solitude, and cherish there
Silent companionship with lofty thought.

—*Alice M. W. Rollins.*

What is meant by Freedom of Speech?

The right of every individual to give utterance to his thoughts, privately or publicly, without fear of molestation or hindrance. Every one is under moral obligation to speak the truth, and to have a proper

regard in what he says to the feelings and rights of others. Blasphemy, slander, treason, and language inciting to riot and crime, may properly be prohibited by law.

The best that we can do for one another is to exchange our thoughts freely.

— *James A. Froude.*

We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
That Shakespeare spake; the faith and morals hold
Which Milton held.

— *William Wordsworth.*

It is of great importance to set a resolution, not to be shaken, never to tell an untruth. There is no vice so mean, so pitiful, so contemptible; and he who permits himself to tell a lie once, finds it much easier to do it a second and third time, till at length it becomes habitual; he tells lies without attending to it, and truths without the world's believing him. This falsehood of the tongue leads to that of the heart, and in time depraves all its good dispositions.

— *Thomas Jefferson.*

It may be possible that men shall speak so recklessly, whether by word or by printed page, that a limit must be set upon their expressions. To meet such cases, we already have laws in harmony with the Constitution, against slander, against vile and indecent language spoken or written, against those utterances in time of war that shall incite to treason or give aid and comfort to the enemy. But Congress has not, and never will violate this fundamental principle of our government, that the place and manner of worship, of speech, and of writing, shall be only limited by the laws of morality and by the safety of the state.

— *Isaac J. Lansing.*

What is slander ?

'Tis an assassin at the midnight hour ;
Urged on by envy, that, with footstep soft,
Steals on the slumber of sweet innocence,
And, with the dark drawn dagger of the mind,
Drinks deep the crimson current of the heart.
It is a worm that crawls on beauty's cheek,
Like the vile viper in a vale of flowers,
And riots in ambrosial blossoms there.
It is a coward in a coat of mail,
That wages war against the brave and wise,
And like the long, lean lizard that will mar
The lion's sleep, it wounds the noblest breast.

— *Milford Bard.*

They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak ;
They are slaves who will not choose
Hatred, scorning, and abuse,
Rather than in silence shrink
From the truth they needs must think ;
They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three.

— *James Russell Lowell.*

Why should we be free to speak ?

For the same reason that entitles us to think for ourselves ; it is our birthright, incident to our completeness of living. Man is not a free being when he is denied the right of free speech.

Error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.

— *Thomas Jefferson.*

The greatest promise of safety, so far as the state is concerned, is doubtless in a recognition of the sacred and inalienable right of every community to a free and unrestricted discussion of all questions of moral right and of moral obligation.

— *Ezekiel G. Robinson.*

Free speech is to a great people what winds are to oceans and malarial regions, which waft away the elements of disease and bring new elements of health; and where free speech is stopped, miasma is bred, and death comes fast.

— *Henry Ward Beecher.*

It is not to the constitutions of my nation and state that I am indebted for the right of free discussion — though I am thankful for the glorious defense with which those instruments surround the right. No; God himself gave me this right; and a sufficient proof that He did so is to be found in the fact that He requires me to exercise it.

— *Gerrit Smith.*

The peculiar evil of silencing the expression of an opinion is, that it is robbing the human race — posterity as well as the existing generation; those who dissent from the opinion, still more than those who hold it. If the opinion is right, they are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth: if wrong, they lose, what is almost as great a benefit, the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth, produced by its collision with error.

— *John Stuart Mill.*

Publicity of speaking has its dangers, and occasionally exposes to grave inconveniences, as all guarantees do, and

necessarily in a greater degree as they are of a more elementary character. It is the price at which we enjoy all excellence in this world. Liberty is coupled with the public word, and however frequently the public word may be abused, it is nevertheless true that out of it arises oratory, the æsthetics of liberty. What would Greece and Rome be to us without their Demosthenes and Cicero? And what would their other writers have been, had not their languages been coined out by the orator? What would England be without her host of manly and masterly speakers? Who of us would wish to see the treasures of our own civilization robbed of the words contributed by our speakers, from Patrick Henry to Webster? The speeches of great orators are a fund of wealth for a free people, from which the schoolboy begins to draw when he declaims from his reader, and which enriches, elevates, and nourishes the souls of the old.

— *Francis Lieber.*

Define Freedom of the Press.

This term is used to express the right to print and circulate tracts, pamphlets, books, newspapers, and other productions.

Here shall the Press the People's right maintain
Unawed by influence and unbribed by gain;
Here patriot Truth her glorious precepts draw,
Pledged to Religion, Liberty, and Law.

— *Joseph Story.*

Can you conceive freedom without the liberty of the press?

— *Louis A. Thiers.*

In free countries political matters relate to the people, and therefore ought to be public. Publicity informs of public matters; it teaches and educates, and it binds together. There is no patriotism without publicity, and though publicity cannot always prevent mischief, it is at all events an alarm bell, which calls the public to the spot of danger. — *Francis Lieber*.

The office of a newspaper is first to give the history of its time, and afterward to deduce such theories or truths from it as shall be of universal application. — *Horace Greeley*.

There are, of course, papers and papers. There are papers of business, papers of advertisement, papers of sport, papers of opinion, and papers of power. It takes all sorts to make up a world, and there is as much diversity in journalists as in members of Parliament. But all of them go together to make the Fourth Estate, which is becoming more powerful than all the other estates of the realm. Great is the power of the printed word. — *William T. Stead*.

I invite your attention to that immortal essay of John Milton's, too little known in our day, the Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing. It is a treasure of the highest wisdom, of the noblest sentiments, and of the greatest instruction; study that, and you will get at once the philosophy of English liberty and the highest doctrine that has ever been promulgated, to my knowledge, with regard to the freedom of the press. — *Charles A. Dana*.

Unless wariness be used, as good almost kill a man as kill a good book. Who kills a man, kills a reasonable creature, God's image; but he who destroys a good book, kills reason itself, kills the image of God, as it were in the eye. Many a man lives a burden to the earth; but a good book is the precious

lifeblood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life. It is true no age can restore a life, whereof perhaps there is no great loss; and revolutions of ages do not oft recover the loss of a rejected truth, for the want of which whole nations fare the worse. We should be wary, therefore, what persecution we raise against the living labors of public men, how we spill that seasoned life of man, preserved and stored up in books; since we see a kind of homicide may be thus committed, sometimes a martyrdom, and if it extend to the whole impression, a kind of massacre, whereof the execution ends not in the slaying of an elemental life, but strikes at the ethereal and fifth essence, the breath of reason itself; slays an immortality rather than a life.

— *John Milton.*

The sun shone in at the window,
On the printer's case and type,
And the heaps of mystic letters
Were bathed in its golden light;
And I thought of the truths there hidden,
Of the mighty power there laid,
In those piles of dusky metal,
When in marshaled ranks arrayed.
A child in his feeble wisdom,
Might place them with tiny hand,
But a king with his steel-armed legions
In vain would their force withstand;
For they are the silent warriors,
Whose tents are folded away,
Whose footprints go down through the ages,
Whose mandates the world shall obey.

— *Anonymous.*

On what does the Freedom of the Press rest?

It is closely related to the right of private judgment; freedom of thought is incomplete without liberty of expression. The right to think carries with it the right to publish one's thought; it is a natural impulse to tell what we know. We acquire a firmer grasp of thought when we have prepared it for the press. If we have a valuable thought, it is both a privilege and a duty to communicate it to others. A free press is essential to liberty; it helps to create public opinion.

The press is the best instrument for enlightening the mind of man and improving him as a rational, moral, and social being. This formidable censor of the public functionaries, by arraigning them at the tribunal of public opinion, produces reform peaceably, which must otherwise be done by revolution.

— *Thomas Jefferson.*

The more we consider the independence of the press in its principal consequences, the more are we convinced that it is the chief, and, so to speak, the constitutive element of freedom in the modern world. A nation which is determined to remain free, is therefore right in demanding the unrestrained exercise of its independence.

— *Alexis C. H. C. de Tocqueville.*

A free and unlicensed press, in the just and legal sense of the expression, has led to all the blessings both of religion and government, which Great Britain, or any part of the world, at this moment enjoys, and is calculated still further to advance mankind to higher degrees of civilization and happiness. But

this freedom, like every other, must be limited to be enjoyed and, like every human advantage, may be defeated by its abuse.

— *Thomas Erskine.*

As the advocate of society, of peace, of domestic liberty, I conjure you to guard the liberty of the press, that great sentinel of the state, that grand detector of public imposture.

— *John Philpot Curran.*

We find the printed page in its myriad forms the most potent agency for the realization of the high spiritual being of man in the image of God, and the most perfect means for the emancipation of man from slavery to his own ignorance and passions, and from his dependence on others for guidance and direction. He becomes less dependent on a fellow-man for master—one brain to govern two pairs of hands—and more independent and self-directive, more rational, and more participative in the wisdom and goodness of the human race.

— *William T. Harris.*

All free governments, whatever their name, are in reality governments by public opinion, and it is on the quality of this public opinion that their prosperity depends.

— *James Russell Lowell.*

In these latter days, there has risen a power mightier than an army of orators—a power that has dwarfed their genius, destroyed their influence, and lowered them to the level of ordinary mortals—a power that can banish kings, destroy dynasties, revolutionize governments, embroil nations in triumphant or disastrous wars, and, for good or ill, is changing the aspect of the civilized world. The glory of the orator sank when the printing press arose. The orator, at best, can speak

to thousands; the press to hundreds of thousands. The orator speaks rarely; the press, every day. The orator may, at the choicest moment, fail, from ill health or one of many causes; the press, free from all the ills that flesh is heir to, moves on its mission with the facility, power, and precision of machinery. The orator may move an audience; the press can arouse a nation. The speech dies with the sounds that give it birth; the press lives forever on the imperishable page. The orator now addresses himself less to the audience of the evening than to the world of readers of the next morning. — *Daniel Dougherty.*

May not the Freedom of the Press be abused?

Undoubtedly. Men sometimes publish statements that are false, misleading, slanderous, degrading, or dangerous. There is a great deal of bad literature, but the good predominates.

The law recognizes no peculiar rights, privileges, or claims to indulgence on the part of the conductors of the public press. They have no rights but such as are common to all. They have the right to publish the truth, but no right to publish falsehood to the injury of others, with impunity.

— *Reuben H. Walworth.*

The newspaper has become, as it were, a circulating national library containing all kinds of stuff, good, bad, and indifferent, always appetizing, though not always wholesome and refreshing. In the old Chartist days newspapers were few, but they were filled with a serious purpose, serious men read them, passed them from hand to hand, and seriously discussed their

contents. Now, though many journals are high-toned, not a few are edited on the principle that they must please to live, and the pleasure they conceive is of no noble or generous order.

— *A. M. Fairbairn.*

The freedom of the press is an excellent thing and is wholly consonant with the principles upon which all free governments are based. But as governments are now drawing the line at what is known as anarchy in one form, they should go a step farther and define anarchy in the press. The man who throws a bomb or wields a stiletto in the cause of anarchy, in reality is not so dangerous to free government as a press that regards nothing as too sacred or as too polluting to be spread before its readers.

— *W. C. Gray.*

Many people are in the habit of complaining bitterly of the intrusion of the newspaper reporter into every nook and corner of the state, and even into the privacy of home; but in this extreme publicity is really to be found a new means of social, industrial, and governmental reform and progress. As Emerson said, "Light is the best policeman." There are many exaggerations, perversions, and inaccuracies in this publicity; but on the whole it is a beneficent and a new agency for the promotion of the public welfare. Such publicity has become possible partly through man's new power over nature, as seen in the innumerable applications of heat and electricity, and partly through the universal capacity to read.

For almost all social, industrial, and political evils, publicity gives the best hope of reasonable remedy. Publicity exposes not only wickedness, but also folly and bad judgment. It makes crime and political corruption more difficult and far less attractive. The forger, burglar, and corruptionist need secrecy for two reasons: first, that they may

succeed in their crimes; and secondly, that they may enjoy the fruits of their wickedness. The most callous sinner finds it hard to enjoy the product of his sin if he knows that everybody knows how he came by it. No good cause ever suffered from publicity; no bad cause but instinctively avoids it. So new is this force in the world that many people do not yet trust it, or perceive its immense utility. In cases of real industrial grievances or oppressions, publicity would be by far the quickest and surest means of cure,—vastly more effective for all just ends than secret combinations of either capitalists or laborers. The newspapers, which are the ordinary instruments of this publicity, are as yet very imperfect instruments, much of their work being done so hastily and so cheaply as to preclude accuracy; but as means of publicity they visibly improve from decade to decade, and, taken together with the magazines and the controversial pamphlet, they shed more light on the social, industrial, and political life of the people of the United States than was ever shed before on the doings and ways of any people. This force is distinctly new within this century, and it affords a new and strong guarantee for the American Republic.

— Charles W. Eliot.

Should there be any restrictions on the Freedom of the Press?

It has been found conducive to the public welfare to forbid the publication of libels and of obscene and immoral literature. Publications tending to excite riot are dangerous; but progress and the purity of

public administration are so largely dependent upon publicity, discussion, and criticism, that no unnecessary restrictions should be placed upon the press.

If the newspaper is the school of the people, and if upon popular education and intelligence the success and prosperity of popular government depends, there is no function in society which requires more conscience as well as ability.

— *George W. Curtis.*

News is an impalpable thing—an airy abstraction; to make it a merchantable commodity somebody has to collect it, condense it, and clothe it in language; and its quality depends upon the character of the men employed in doing this.

— *Edwin L. Godkin.*

The legal responsibility of newspapers is a reality, but their moral responsibility is greater and more important.

— *Charles A. Dana.*

As a part of the right of personal security, the preservation of every person's good name from the vile arts of detraction is justly included. The laws of the ancients, no less than those of modern nations, made private reputation one of the objects of their protection.

— *James Kent.*

Power, unless wedded to proportionate legal responsibility, is a despotism which is always degrading, debasing, dangerous, and, sooner or later, disastrous. Let the legal responsibility of the English press be equivalent to the greatness of its power. Let the law of libel be drastic, but let it also be just. Let there be no interference with the rightful and beneficent privileges of a free public press. Let the English nation take

heed that there is no maiming of the liberty of the English press, which is the bulwark of the national liberty wherein we rejoice, of that liberty which is the vital breath of the strong national greatness and the imperial grandeur wherewith England, as a most favored nation, has been blessed and honored by the all-ruling Providence. If we decide that the open air of liberty, — the heaven-sent air, — is too rough and rude for our own breathing, and refuse to inhale it till it has become especially prepared for our consumption according to the views of Professor Squeamish and Doctor Fad and Mrs. Coddle, national decadence and imperial dissolution will be the sure and well-merited punishment for such contemptible and flagrant folly.

— *John B. Hopkins.*

What has the love of Liberty done for the race?

It is one of the strongest impulses of the soul and has been one of the chief causes of progress. Civilization is nearly synonymous with freedom. When men love liberty they are brave and progressive; those who do not love liberty are degraded and despised.

A freeman contending for liberty on his own ground is superior to any slavish mercenary on earth.

— *George Washington.*

Those who have died for this cause and country may have "builded better than they knew," but they knew they did all they could. And with what they did we are content; the value of their deeds is still immeasurable.

— *John C. Breckenridge.*

Freedom is not an end in itself, but a means only; a means of securing justice and happiness, the real end and aim of states, as of every human heart. — *Charles Sumner.*

A century and more has passed, and as the foundations of this government are more firmly settled, as the great structure reared by our fathers now spans the continent from ocean to ocean, and has victoriously established its right to be, political liberty has ceased to be the mere dream of the enthusiast and has become the every-day fact of the men of thought and action in the world. — *David J. Brewer.*

The claim which our country presents, for giving no second or subordinate character to the age which has just closed, rests only on what has been accomplished, at home and abroad, for elevating the condition of mankind, for advancing political and human freedom, for promoting the greatest good of the greatest number, for proving the capacity of man for self-government, and for "enlightening the world" by the example of a rational, regulated, enduring constitutional liberty. And who will dispute or question that claim? In what region of the earth ever so remote from us, in what corner of creation ever so far out of the range of our communication, does not some burden lightened, some bond loosened, some yoke lifted, some labor better remunerated, some new hope for despairing hearts, some new light or new liberty for the benighted or the oppressed, bear witness and trace itself, directly or indirectly, back to the impulse given to the world by the successful establishment and operation of free institutions on this American continent? — *Robert C. Winthrop.*

One of the most effective motive forces in human history has been the love of freedom. From the earliest dawn of

civilization to the present day it has never been absent from the human heart. Every people that has achieved any exalted position has been actuated more or less by the spirit of liberty. It has called into active exercise the noblest talents of the race, and has inspired men to their most heroic endeavors. Liberty has been the battle cry which has led to victory on a thousand battlefields; it wrung from King John the Magna Charta; it razed the Bastile to the ground; it peopled the solitudes of America with a hardy race of Pilgrims; it led Washington and his faithful army through the perils and sufferings of a seven years' war. It has been the presiding genius which, age after age, in Greece, Rome, Switzerland, England, France, America, and in the South Seas has molded constitutions, framed laws, and elaborated institutions, all seeking to secure to the individual the highest possible liberty. The spirit of freedom is the spirit of progress. It represents much of what is strongest, noblest, and best in the human race.

— T. J. M.

All in vain will timorous ones essay
To set the metes and bounds of Liberty.
For Freedom is its own eternal law.
It makes its own conditions, and in storm
Or calm alike fulfills the unerring Will.
Let us not then despise it, when it lies
Still as a sleeping lion, while a swarm
Of gnat-like evils hover round its head;
Nor doubt it when in mad, disjointed times
It shakes the torch of terror, and its cry
Shrills o'er the quaking earth and in the flame
Of riot and war we see its awful form
Rise by the scaffold where the crimson ax

Rings down its grooves the knell of shuddering kings.
For always in thine eyes, O Liberty !
Shines that high light whereby the world is saved,
And though thou slay us, we will trust in thee.

— *John Hay.*

Chains may subdue the feeble spirit, but thee,
Tell, of the iron heart, they could not tame !
For thou wert of the mountains ; they proclaim
The everlasting creed of liberty.
That creed is written on the untrampled snow,
Thundered by torrents which no power can hold,
Save that of God, when He sends forth His cold,
And breathed by winds that through the free heaven blow.
Thou, while thy prison-walls were dark around,
Didst meditate the lesson Nature taught,
And to thy brief captivity was brought
A vision of the Switzerland unbound.
The bitter cup they mingled strengthened thee
For the great work to set thy country free.

— *William Cullen Bryant.*

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.



ROGER WILLIAMS WELCOMED BY THE NARRAGANSETTS.

I am firmly persuaded, both by study and observation, that the church is more sturdy in her growth, and is more prosperous in her career, when she is free to pursue her divine mission without any interference on the part of the state. Here, thank God, the church is free, and therefore she is prosperous. Here the church and the state run in parallel lines, each assisting the other, and neither of them unwarrantably intruding on the domain of the other. Here the constitution holds over the church its protecting arm without interfering in ecclesiastical affairs.

— JAMES GIBBONS.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

Define Religious Liberty.

It is the right of every individual to regulate his own religious activities ; he may accept or reject any creed ; adopt any or no form of worship without interference.

Nothing can be conceived more abhorrent to the spirit of true religion, than the hypocritical pretensions of kings, princes, rulers, and magistrates, to uphold her holy cause by their unholy violence.

— *William Gaston.*

Religious liberty is a natural, fundamental, and inalienable right of every man. It is founded in the sacredness of conscience, which is the voice of God in man, and above the reach and control of human authority.

— *Philip Schaff.*

Religious liberty is realized when every citizen possesses the right to judge in religious matters, and to determine the faith or the religion by or after which he shall order his life.

— *A. M. Fairbairn.*

Religion being sacredly personal, a direct relation between each soul and God, it must, of necessity, be a voluntary rela-

tion on man's part. Nobody can be forced into the kingdom of God. It follows that every man's relation to God is a thing to be settled between him and God alone, without other intervention. This involves the inalienable right of every man to decide for himself how he shall worship God, or whether he shall worship or serve God at all; and no other human being has any right whatsoever to force his decision.

— *Henry C. Vedder.*

Religion is a union with God. It means worship or homage rendered to a supreme being, and this, as both history and human nature testify, is the highest and deepest necessity of the human soul. But this is impossible without a free choice. Worship or homage would be unmeaning unless free. Every one, therefore, has the right to religious freedom. This does not mean, however, the right to do in the name of religion whatever the religion may enjoin, for this might be disorderly. But it means that every person has the right to hold, without interference by the government, his own religious beliefs, and to carry these out in practice so far as this can be done without disorder.

— *Julius H. Seelye.*

A careful examination of the American constitutions will disclose the fact that nothing is more fully set forth, or more plainly expressed, than the determination of their authors to preserve and perpetuate religious liberty and to guard against the slightest approach towards the establishment of an inequality in the civil and political rights of citizens, which shall have for its basis only their differences of religious belief. The American people came to the work of framing their fundamental laws, after centuries of religious oppression and persecution, sometimes by one party or sect and sometimes by another, had taught them the utter futility of all attempts to

propagate religious opinions by the rewards, penalties, or terrors of human laws. While careful to establish, protect, and defend religious freedom and equality, the American constitutions contain no provisions which prohibit the authorities from such solemn recognition of a superintending Providence in public transactions and exercises as the general religious sentiment of mankind inspires, and seems meet and proper in finite and dependent beings.

— *Thomas M. Cooley.*

Freedom in civil affairs, freedom of thought, and freedom of speech are valued possessions; but religious freedom is more sacred than all these, because it is first in the estimation of humanity, and because it is the chief protection and guarantee of all other freedom.

— *James M. King.*

Define Liberty of Conscience.

It is the liberty to do what we believe to be right.

Conscience — God's vicegerent in the soul.

— *A. P. Buchan.*

Labor to keep alive in your breast that little spark of celestial fire, called conscience.

— *George Washington.*

The end which is to be reached, and toward which all liberty and political civilization tends, is perfect liberty of conscience.

— *Francis Lieber.*

Conscience is the crowning faculty of man, and constitutes his chief distinction from the lower animals. It lifts him above the mere animal in proportion as its supremacy is maintained. Its decisions, if intelligent and complied with, secure

to the individual the highest manhood that his enlightenment permits. Not to recognize the authority of its decisions as supreme, is to introduce discord and anarchy among the soul's powers, overthrowing the authority of all and insuring in the end deformity of character, if not utter destruction of all personal virtue.

— *Ezekiel G. Robinson.*

I wish popularity, but it is that popularity which follows, not that which is run after. It is that popularity which, sooner or later, never fails to do justice to the pursuit of noble ends by noble means. I will not do that which my conscience tells me is wrong, to gain the huzzas of thousands, or the daily praise of all the papers which come from the press. I will not avoid doing what I think is right, though it should draw on me the whole artillery of libels—all that falsehood and malice can invent, or the credulity of a deluded populace can swallow.

— *Lord Mansfield.*

When the same principles (religious liberty) were recognized in Rhode Island by Roger Williams's settlement, in the settlement of Pennsylvania, and finally through all the states of the American Republic, it was done for religious reasons, in vindication of those rights conscience most strongly affirms.

— *A. M. Fairbairn.*

The arrangement of God which makes man's conscience his guide to action, is beneficent every way. The results will be seen in the end in a purer piety; in a nobler self-devotion; in a grander and more powerful grasp of the principles of duty; in a more exalted communion with God in His holiness; in a higher disregard of the blandishments of time; in a mightier unfolding of all spiritual force; in a deeper impression on the history of the world.

— *Richard S. Storrs.*

Why should we have Freedom of Conscience?

The Creator has planted in every individual an inward monitor that urges us to do right and to shun evil. When we obey it, we have peace; when we disobey, we suffer remorse. We are moral beings, under the most sacred obligations to obey conscience, and hence we should be left free to do so.

Whatever creed be taught, or land be trod,
Man's conscience is the oracle of God.

— *Lord Byron.*

It is an ill homage to God to compel a man to serve him, as if he could be pleased with the service of hypocrisy.

— *Tertullian.*

No forced obedience pleases God; he dislikes that men should be made religious by hatchet and by sword.

— *Athanasius.*

Trust that man in nothing who has not a conscience in everything.

— *Laurence Sterne.*

There is no sterner fact in human experience than the guilty conscience; the man who is not saved from it becomes its victim, it depraves him and darkens all his world.

— *A. M. Fairbairn.*

O Conscience! mute, mysterious guest!
Man fain would pluck thee from his breast,
As if thou wert his deadly foe,
The only cause of human woe;
Could he but snatch thy golden crown,

And madly pull thy temple down,
Dark Vice would rear her bloody shrines
Where perish hopes and Virtue pines;
Strike but the brave heart-monarch dumb,
And earth a desert would become.

— *James Linen.*

Yet know thou this :
At quick of thy being
Is an eye, all seeing,
The snake's wit evadeth not,
The charmed lip persuadeth not ;
So thoroughly it despiseth
The thing thy hand prizeth,
Tho' the sun were thy clothing,
It should count thee for nothing.
Thine own eye divineth thee,
Thine own soul arraigneth thee ;
God himself cannot shrive thee
Till that judge forgive thee.

— *Dora Read Goodale.*

What is meant by Freedom of Worship ?

The right to worship God in accordance with the dictates of conscience.

The mind is its own master. Therefore in what regards the interior movement of the will, man is not bound to obey man, but only God; for all men are by nature equal.

— *Thomas Aquinas.*

Is not this system of freedom of controversy and freedom of worship, sufficient for all the purposes of human happiness and improvement?
— *Thomas Erskine.*

If there is any right sacred beyond all others, because it imports everlasting consequences, it is the right to worship God according to the dictates of our own consciences.

— *Joseph Story.*

For me, though censured, threatened, persecuted, I must profess, while heaven and earth last, that no one tenent that either London, England, or the world doth harbor, is so heretical, blasphemous, seditious, and dangerous to the corporal, to the spiritual, to the present, to the eternal good of all men as the bloody tenent (however washed and whited) I say, as is the bloody tenent of persecution for cause of conscience.

— *Roger Williams.*

Liberty of conscience requires liberty of worship as its manifestation. To grant the former and deny the latter is to imprison conscience and to promote hypocrisy or infidelity. Religion is in its nature voluntary, and ceases to be religion in proportion as it is forced. God wants free worshipers, and no others.

— *Philip Schaff.*

Happy is that nation whose children are educated in the principles and trained in the practice of religious freedom, are made acquainted in their youthful days with its nature and worth, are inspired from the earliest period with ardent love for it. This will prove the best and most effective method of permanently securing this invaluable treasure, and of transmitting it down, from age to age, to the latest posterity.

— *Benjamin Brook.*

It remains for the United States to build a highway, broad and free, into every field of liberal inquiry, and to make the poorest of men who walks therein more secure in life and reputation than the soldier who sleeps behind the rampart. The right of free thought, free inquiry, and free speech is as clear as the noonday and bounteous as the air and ocean. Without a full and cheerful recognition of this right, America is only a name, her glory a dream, her institutions a mockery.

— *John C. Ridpath.*

Why should the Law not interfere with Worship ?

Because religion is a personal question, strictly a matter of conscience.

Of all the attempts to arrogate unjust dominion, none is so pernicious as the efforts of tyrannical men to rule over the human conscience. Religion is exclusively an affair between man and his God. If there be any subject upon which the interference of human power is more forbidden than on all others, it is on religion.

— *William Gaston.*

Religion is ever a matter between God and the individual ; the imposing of religious tests hath been the greatest engine of tyranny in the world.

— *Isaac Backus.*

The whole history of the Christian religion shows that she is in far greater danger of being corrupted by the alliance with the civil power than of being crushed by its opposition.

— *Thomas B. Macaulay.*

It is frequently said that Christianity is a part of the law of the land. In a certain sense and for certain purposes this is true. The best features of the common law,—and espe-

cially those which regard the family and social relations; which compel the parent to support the child, the husband to support the wife; which makes the marriage tie permanent and forbids polygamy,—if not derived from, have at least been improved and strengthened by the prevailing religion and the teachings of its sacred book. But the law does not attempt to enforce the precepts of Christianity on the ground of their sacred character or divine origin. Some of those precepts, though we may admit their continual and universal obligation, we must nevertheless recognize as being incapable of enforcement by human laws. — *Thomas M. Cooley.*

Religious liberty, like civil liberty, the liberty of speech, the liberty of the press, and every other liberty, is liable to abuse and consequent punishment. Every man's liberty is limited by the golden rule, not to do unto others what we would not have them do unto us. Nobody has a right to trespass on the rights of his neighbor, or to do wrong. A government consults its own interest by protecting all and persecuting none. — *Philip Schaff.*

The abstention of the state from interference in matters of faith and worship may be advocated on two principles, which may be called the political and the religious. The former holds any attempt at compulsion by the civil power to be an infringement on liberty of thought, as well as on liberty of action. The second principle, embodying the more purely religious view of the question, starts from the conception of the church as a spiritual body existing for spiritual purposes, and moving along spiritual paths. Compulsion of any kind is contrary to the nature of such a body, which lives by love and reverence, not by law. — *James Bryce.*

What is meant by the Separation of Church and State?

In some countries there is an established or state church, sustained by public taxation; the church and state are said to be united. In this country it is not so; there is no established church. All the churches are treated alike; each is supported by voluntary contributions. Church and state are separate, and the churches are free to manage their own affairs in their own way.

Not democracy in America, but free Christianity in America, is the real key to the study of the people and their institutions.

— *Goldwin Smith.*

The absence of state interference in matters of religion is one of the most striking differences between all the European countries on the one hand and the United States on the other. So far from suffering from the want of state support, religion seems in the United States to stand all the firmer because of it.

— *James Bryce.*

In England the established church is an adjunct of the state. It is supported by a tax, levied on every one, whether believing in its doctrines and attending its services or not. Its prelates are appointed by the crown, under the form of an election, which is, however, nothing but a form. Its ministers are not selected by their congregations, but are appointed by the state or by private individuals who have inherited or purchased this privilege, and who may be atheists or pagans.

— *Douglas Campbell.*

The whole solution of the problem of the relation of church and state lies in the declaration of Christ, "My kingdom is not of this world;" and in that wisest answer ever given to a perplexing question, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's."

— *Philip Schaff.*

In what colonies was Religious Liberty first established in this country?

Religious liberty was first established in Rhode Island, by the royal charter of 1647. Roger Williams, who fled from religious persecution in Massachusetts, in 1636, established a colony at Providence and became the champion of religious liberty. In 1634, Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore, established a colony in Maryland as a refuge for Roman Catholics, but extended the right of religious freedom to all Christians of whatever sect. In 1649, the first law guaranteeing religious freedom ever passed by such a body, was enacted by the Maryland Legislature.

There are but two of the early colonies of which the claim can be seriously made that they were founded on any principle of religious freedom. These two are Rhode Island and Maryland. It was said of the first by Roger Williams, its spiritual founder, that "a permission of the most paganish, Jewish, Turkish, or anti-Christian conscience" should be there granted "to all men of all nations and countries."

Maryland has shared with Rhode Island the honor of

having established religious freedom, and this claim is largely based upon the noble decree passed by its General Assembly in 1649: "No person whatsoever in this province professing to believe in Jesus Christ shall from henceforth be any way troubled or molested for his or her religion, or in the free exercise thereof, or any way compelled to the belief or exercise of any other religion against his or her consent."

— *Thomas W. Higginson.*

The charter which Charles II. granted to Rhode Island in response to the appeal of Roger Williams was "the first royal proclamation of religious liberty for man as man that the world had heard."

— *Joseph Story.*

Roger Williams was the first person in modern Christendom to assert, in its plenitude, the doctrine of the liberty of conscience, the equality of opinions before the law; and in its defense he was the harbinger of Milton, the precursor and the superior of Jeremy Taylor.

— *George Bancroft.*

We have therefore thought fit, and do hereby publish, grant, ordain and declare, that our royal will and pleasure is, that no person within the said colony, at any time hereafter, shall be any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any differences in opinion in matters of religion, and do not actually disturb the civil peace of our said colony; but that all and every person and persons may, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, freely and fully have and enjoy his and their own judgments and consciences, in matters of religious concernments, throughout the tract of land hereafter mentioned, they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and not using this liberty to licentiousness and profaneness, nor to the civil injury or outward disturbance of

others, any law, statute, or clause therein contained, or to be contained, usage or custom of this realm. to the contrary hereof, in any wise, notwithstanding.

— *Charter of Rhode Island.*

The design of the law of Maryland was undoubtedly to protect freedom of conscience; and, some years after it had been confirmed, the apologist of Lord Baltimore could assert, that his government, in conformity with his strict and repeated injunctions, had never given disturbance to any person in Maryland for matter of religion; that the colonists enjoyed freedom of conscience, not less than freedom of person and estate, as amply as ever any people in any place of the world. The disfranchised friends of prelacy from Massachusetts, and the Puritans from Virginia, were welcomed to equal liberty of conscience and political rights in the Roman Catholic province of Maryland.

— *George Bancroft.*

What was secured by the First Amendment to the Constitution?

It guaranteed religious liberty, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, the right of peaceable assembly, and the right of petition. It reads as follows: —

“Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition for a redress of grievances.”

Congress was deprived of all legislative power over mere

opinion, but was left free to reach actions which were in violation of social duties or subversive of good order.

— *Henry M. Waite.*

This relationship of church and state marks an epoch. It is a new chapter in the history of Christianity, and the most important one which America has so far contributed.

— *Philip Schaff.*

If we had nothing else to boast of, we could claim with justice that, first among the nations, we of this country made it an article of organic law that the relations between man and his Maker were a private concern into which other men had no right to intrude.

— *David Dudley Field.*

Vindicating the right of individuality even in religion, and in religion above all, the new Nation dares to set the example of accepting, in its relations to God, the principle first divinely ordained in Judea. It left the management of temporal things to the temporal power; but the American constitution, in harmony with the people of the several states, withheld from the federal government the power to invade the home of reason, the citadel of conscience, the sanctuary of the soul; and not from indifference, but that the infinite spirit of eternal truth might move in its freedom and purity and power.

— *George Bancroft.*

What is the proper relation of the Church and the State?

The State, or Nation, is composed of free people living together under a general system of laws, or civil government, designed to maintain order and

justice, and to secure tranquillity and prosperity: it should be governed by the moral law, protecting its citizens in the enjoyment of religious privileges, but should not seek to favor any church, or to establish any form of religion. The Church is a voluntary organization of worshipers, which seeks to promote man's spiritual welfare by its teachings, its ordinances, ceremonies, and discipline. Its authority stops with its own members, who choose to submit to its direction. It may appeal to the State for protection, but not for aid. It has no political functions, and should have no political power. There should be a "free church in a free state," independent of each other, but mutually helpful.

Driven from every other corner of the earth, freedom of thought and the right of private judgment in matters of conscience direct their course to this happy country as their last asylum. Let us cherish the noble guests! Let us shelter them under the wings of universal toleration! Be this the seat of unbounded religious freedom! She will bring with her, in her train, industry, wisdom, and commerce. — *Samuel Adams.*

Religion flourishes in greater purity without than with the aid of government. — *James Madison.*

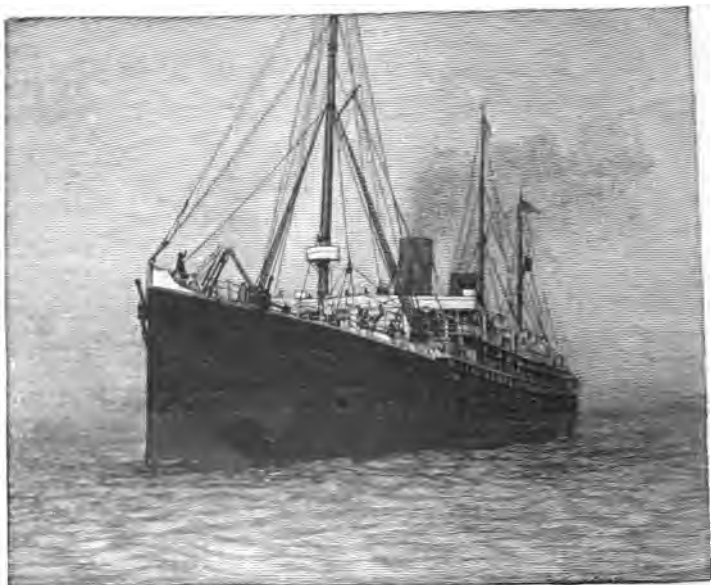
I contemplate with sovereign reverence the act of the whole American people, which declares that their Legislature should make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, thus building a wall of separation between church and state. — *Thomas Jefferson.*

The principles of the Constitution of the United States of America are distinctly hostile to ecclesiastical interference in local or national governments. — *Alonzo Potter.*

Civil Government, as such, has no religious functions. Religious doctrine and worship are outside its sphere of administration. — *J. L. M. Curry.*

It is the same in Pennsylvania as elsewhere, the general principles and public policy are sometimes established by constitutional provisions, sometimes by legislative enactments, sometimes by judicial decisions, and sometimes by general consent. But however they may be established, there is nothing that we look for with more certainty than this general principle, that Christianity is part of the law of the land. Everything declares it. The massive cathedral of the Catholic; the Episcopalian church, with its lofty spire pointing heavenward; the plain temple of the Quaker; the log church of the hardy pioneer of the wilderness; the mementos and memorials around and about us; the consecrated graveyards, their tombstones and epitaphs, their silent vaults, their moldering contents, — all attest it. The dead prove it as well as the living. The generations that are gone before speak to it, and pronounce it from the tomb. We feel it. All, all proclaim that Christianity, — general, tolerant Christianity, Christianity independent of sects and parties, that Christianity to which the sword and the fagot are unknown, — general, tolerant Christianity, is the law of the land. — *Daniel Webster.*

POPULATION AND IMMIGRATION.



AN EMIGRANT SHIP.

*"Away, away o'er the foaming main!"
This was the free and joyous strain.
"There are clearer skies than ours, afar,
We will shape our course by a brighter star;
There are plains whose verdure no foot hath pressed
And whose wealth is all for the first brave guest."*

— FELICIA D. HEMANS.

POPULATION AND IMMIGRATION.

What is the Population of the United States, and how rapidly does it increase ?

The last census showed that our population in 1890 was 62,622,250, of which 54,983,890 were whites. Of this number, 34,358,348 were native born of native parents, 11,503,675 were native born of foreign parents, and 9,121,867 were foreign born ; that is to say, 20,625,542 were immigrants or the children of immigrants. Our population doubles in about thirty years. At this rate of increase, it may possibly reach five hundred millions in another hundred years. It is now (1895) nearly seventy millions.

The population of the United States at the various censuses, commencing with 1790 and closing with 1890, just a round century, with the positive increase from census to census, and the per cent of increase, are all shown in the following table:—

YEAR.	POPULATION.	POSITIVE INCREASE.	PER CENT OF INCREASE.
1790	3,929,214		
1800	5,308,483	1,379,269	35.10
1810	7,239,881	1,931,398	36.38
1820	9,633,822	2,393,941	33.06
1830	12,866,020	3,232,198	32.51
1840	17,069,453	4,203,433	33.52
1850	23,191,876	6,122,423	35.83
1860	31,443,321	8,251,445	35.11
1870	38,658,371	7,115,050	22.65
1880	50,155,783	11,597,412	30.08
1890	62,622,250	12,466,467	24.86

A hundred years ago the English-speaking population of America amounted to three millions; it now amounts to sixty millions, and we are told, with every appearance of probability, that in another hundred years it will amount to six hundred millions. Under these circumstances, I wish to recognize the right of America to be considered as being, prospectively at least and even now to a certain extent, — for we have not in our small islands yet quite touched forty millions, — I wish to recognize the prospective and approaching right of America to be the great organ of the powerful English tongue.

— *William E. Gladstone* (1889).

As the line of agricultural occupation draws closer to the great barren plains; as the older Western states change more and more to manufactures and to commerce; as the manufacturing and commercial communities of the East become compacted; as the whole population tends increasingly to fashion and social observance; as diet, dress, and equipage become more and more artificial; as the detestable American vice of "boarding," making children truly "incumbrances,"

and uprooting the ancient and honored institutions of the family, extends from city to city and from village to village, it is not to be doubted that we shall note a steady decline in the rate of the national increase from decade to decade. But it would be merely an attempt at imposture to assume that numerical data exist for determining, within eight or ten or twelve millions, the population of the country thirty years from the date of the last census. As long as one simple force was operating expansively upon a homogeneous people, within a territory affording fertile lands beyond the ability of the existing population to occupy, so long it was no miracle to predict, with accuracy, the results of the census. But in the eddy and swirl of social and industrial currents through which the nation is now passing, it is wholly impossible to estimate the rate of its progress, even though we may feel sure that the good ship will steadily hold her course, and in time round the point which hopes too fond had, — on the strength of a fortunate run made upon a smooth sea, with favoring winds and following floods, — predicted would be reached by the blessed year 1900. This much, however, may with diffidence be said: that the best of probable good fortune will hardly carry the population of the country beyond seventy-five millions by the close of the century.

— *Francis A. Walker.*

What is the influence of Immigration?

Immigration has been one of the principal causes of the increase of population and of the development of the country. Several millions of people from many different lands have come here to live; this

modern migration of nations is one of the most momentous occurrences in human history.

America! half brother of the world!

With something good and bad of every land.

— *Philip James Bailey.*

We are connected with the several nations and races of the world as no other people has ever been connected. We have opened our doors and invited emigration to our soil from all lands. Our invitation has been accepted. Thousands have come at our bidding. Thousands more are on the way. Other thousands still are standing a-tiptoe on the shores of the Old World, eager to find a passage to the land where bread may be had for labor, and where man is treated as man. In our political family almost all nations are represented. The several varieties of the race are here subjected to a social fusion, out of which Providence designs to form a "new man."

— *William P. Lunt.*

During the last ten years we have suffered a peaceful invasion by an army more than four times as vast as the estimated number of Goths and Vandals that swept over southern Europe and overwhelmed Rome. During the past hundred years fifteen million foreigners have made their homes in the United States, and three quarters of them have come since 1850, while 5,248,000 have arrived since 1880.

— *Josiah Strong.*

In the van of the progressive movement of civilization, our country alike greets the most ancient of nations, and the social fabric whose many centuries know no change. Further, she has gathered within her borders all colors, creeds, and minds. Providence has bidden America to train, educate, uplift, blend

in fraternity, eastern and western, northern and southern humanity. Here, in these United States, is the grandest school of the brotherhood of man! Here, the conscience and religion are free! Here, the Fatherhood of God is best illustrated in church, in government, and in the human institutions which interpret Him! In the old countries the people are feared or despised; here, the people are trusted, made responsible, allowed to govern themselves. Here, in marvelous harmony, local forms of freedom are blended with central power.

— *William E. Griffis.*

English and Irish, French and Spanish,
Germans, Italians, Dutch, and Danish,
Crossing their veins until they vanish
 In one conglomeration!
So subtle a tangle of blood, indeed,
No Heraldry Harvey will ever succeed
 In finding the circulation.

— *John G. Saxe.*

She takes, but to give again,
As the sea returns the rivers in rain;
And gathers the chosen of her seed
From the hunted of every crown and creed.
Her Germany dwells by a gentler Rhine;
Her Ireland sees the old sunburst shine;
Her France pursues some dream divine;
Her Norway keeps his mountain pine;
Her Italy waits by the western brine;
And, broad-based, under all
Is planted England's oaken-hearted mood,
As rich in fortitude
As e'er went world-ward from the island wall.

Fused in her candid light,
To one strong race all races here unite;
Tongues melt in hers; hereditary foemen
Forget their sword and slogan, kith and clan.
'Twas glory, once, to be a Roman;
She makes it glory, now, to be a man.

— Bayard Taylor.

What advantage, if any, arises from such a blending of races as is going on in this country?

It tends to develop a rugged, hardy, aggressive race, which will unite the best elements of the different nationalities represented; it utilizes their noblest traditions and highest achievements in science, literature, industries, inventions, and in government. The Americans are akin to all the world, and the heirs of all the ages. If the controlling forces remain essentially the same and preserve their assimilating vigor, the new amalgam — the American — should become the highest type of humanity, and Americanism the most complete stage of civilization.

It is a general rule, now almost universally admitted by ethnologists, that the mixed races of mankind are superior to the pure ones.

— George Rawlinson.

Significant is the new human amalgam in these lands. It is Anglo-Saxon plus many other elements. The original Briton touched by the Roman, overwhelmed by the Anglo-Saxon, mixed with the Norman, the Flemish, and the Huguenot,

with intermingling of Scot and Celt, and in recent times of continental peoples, has evolved a new type in the Old World, while the intermixture in America is producing a still different type. Such a world mixture has never been known before. It is Babel reversed; there, separation, segregation, differentiation; here, aggregation, fusion, unification, — Anglo-Saxon features, as in a composite picture, dominating. History teaches that the greatest peoples have been the product of the commingling of races. The Divine purpose seems to be developing on this continent a new race, blending in it the best elements of all peoples, a race which already, by virtue of its many component elements, feels itself akin to the whole world, which has more than any other the spirit of true brotherhood, and a keener antipathy to caste distinctions.

— *Henry L. Morehouse.*

It is to be inferred from biological truths that the eventual mixture of the allied varieties of the Aryan race will produce a more powerful type of man than has hitherto existed, — a type more plastic, more adaptable, and more capable of understanding the modification needful for complete social life; and that, whatever tribulations they may have to pass through, the Americans may reasonably look forward to a time when they will have produced a civilization grander than any the world has known.

— *Herbert Spencer.*

One Native Land for all:

Ye whose forefathers left green England, yours!

Ye who have come from greener Ireland, yours!

Brave German hearts, this is your native land;

Yours, also, from the Mediterranean coasts,

Kindred of Lafayette or of Cavour.

But most yours our native land, who came

By force, to Jamestown or to Newport brought,
And who by generations of long toil,
And who by blood of war, your blood and ours,
Have bought your birthright in your native land.
One native land, and indivisible,
No North, South, East, or West; all one, all free!

— William Hayes Ward.

How may some of the dangers arising from Immigration be averted?

By teaching all, especially the children, to be American; to speak our common language; to understand and love liberty; to honor the flag; to respect the government, and to aid in strengthening and perfecting our laws and institutions. The pride of the nation is in its children and youth; its hope and security are in their intelligence, morality, and patriotism.

What then is the American, this new man? He is either an European or the descendant of an European, hence that strange mixture of blood which you will find in no other country. I could point out to you a man whose grandfather was an Englishman, whose wife was Dutch, whose son married a French woman, and whose present four sons have now four wives of different nations. He is an American, who, leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds. He becomes

an American by being received in the broad lap of our great Alma Mater. — *J. H. St. John de Crevecoeur* (1782).

Our very air is instinct with freedom. Every inhalation on American soil is fraught with American ideas. It is impossible for sane people to live in this country and not become Americans. Whatever prejudices or antipathies some may bring with them, they unconsciously imbibe the American spirit, and a few years suffice to win them irresistibly to our institutions. — *Edmund J. Wolf*.

If we really want to protect ourselves against the evils which threaten us; if we want to possess our souls in patience, which, I take it, is the first duty of good men in a perverse and fretful generation; if we want to look upon things around us and beyond, not with indifference, but with a hopeful, manly spirit; in one word,—if we desire to elevate and purify the standard of personal character, which, rather than chivalry, I should call “the cheap defense of nations,” we must come back to the sources of all principle and all virtue—to the Word of God. — *William Allen Butler*.

It is not only necessary to Americanize the immigrants of foreign birth who settle among us, but it is even more necessary for those among us who are by birth and descent already Americans not to throw away our birthright, and, with incredible and contemptible folly, wander back to bow down before the alien gods whom our forefathers forsook. It is hard to believe that there is any necessity to warn Americans that, when they seek to model themselves on the lines of other civilizations, they make themselves the butts of all right-thinking men; and yet the necessity certainly exists to give this warning to many of our citizens who pride themselves on

their standing in the world of art and letters, or, perchance, on what they would style their social leadership in the community. We Americans can only do our allotted task well, if we face it steadily and bravely, seeing but not fearing the dangers. Above all, we must stand shoulder to shoulder, not asking as to the ancestry or creed of our comrades, but only demanding that they be in very truth Americans, and that we all work together,—heart, hand, and head,—for the honor and the greatness of our common country.

— *Theodore Roosevelt.*

A refuge for the wronged and poor,
Thy generous heart has borne the blame
That, with them, through thy open door,
The Old World's evil outcasts came.

But, with thy just and equal rule,
And labor's need and breadth of lands,
Free press and rostrum, church and school,
Thy sure, if slow, transforming hands

Shall mold even them to thy design,
Making a blessing of the ban;
And freedom's chemistry combine
The alien elements of man.

— *John G. Whittier.*

Should there be any restriction of Immigration?

Yes; paupers, convicts, anarchists, polygamists, and those who are sure to become a charge upon the public are properly excluded. Whenever the

tide of immigration becomes too large for assimilation, it should be checked.

The following classes of aliens, without regard to race, are absolutely debarred from landing in the United States, and if landed through fraud or inadvertence they may be summarily apprehended and returned to the countries from which they came.

1. Persons under contract, express or implied, to perform labor or service in this country, with certain exceptions, such as artists, members of professions, domestic servants, and skilled artisans imported for employment in an industry not yet established in the United States. 2. Idiots. 3. Insane persons. 4. Paupers. 5. Persons likely to become a public charge. 6. Persons suffering from a loathsome or a dangerous contagious disease. 7. Persons who have been convicted of a felony or other infamous crime or misdemeanor involving "moral turpitude." 8. Polygamists. 9. Persons whose passage is paid by other than relatives or family friends.

— *United States Revised Statutes.*

While for many reasons the prohibition of immigration would, in my judgment, be an act of the 'greatest folly, yet I am none the less convinced that our government, acting wisely, is justified in exercising, — nay, more, that it is bound to exercise, — a wholesome discrimination against undesirable immigrants. Our present legislation was enacted from exactly that standpoint; and if the present laws be properly, faithfully, and ably executed, they will suffice for a considerable period. There is no present need of another change, least of all for an un-American, wholesale discrimination against races, nationalities, or religious creeds. Some races or nationalities

may, and doubtless do, contain a much larger proportion of undesirable immigrants than others — undesirable not only within the express terms of the law, but also by reason of lesser aptitude for assimilation, in which case the immigrants of a whole race or nationality, of whom a very large proportion are of these classes, may be termed undesirable. But let us be satisfied to exclude the individuals who are undesirable, and beware of generalizing. — *Joseph H. Senner.*

We do not wish to prohibit immigration; but our laws should be rigidly revised, so that we may at least have some voice in the selection of our guests. We will welcome, as always, all patriots fleeing from oppression, all who will contribute to the strength of our government and the development of our resources; and we will freely grant to all who become citizens equal rights and privileges under the laws, but no more. There is room in this country for only one flag, and “Old Glory” must head the procession or it cannot march.

— *Elisha Mulford.*

No nation, as no man, has a right to take possession of a choice bit of God’s earth, to exclude the foreigner from its territory, that it may live more comfortably and be a little more at peace. But if to this particular nation there has been given the development of a certain part of God’s earth for universal purposes; if the world, in the great march of centuries, is going to be richer for the development of a certain national character, built up by a larger type of manhood here, then for the world’s sake, for the sake of every nation that would pour in upon us that which would disturb that development, we have a right to stand guard over it.

— *Phillips Brooks.*

O Liberty, white goddess! is it well
To leave the gates unguarded? On thy breast
Fold sorrow's children, soothe the hurts of fate,
Lift the down-trodden; but with hand of steel
Stay those who to thy sacred portals come
To waste the gifts of freedom. Have a care
Lest from thy brow the clustered stars be torn
And trampled in the dust. For so of old
The thronging Goth and Vandal trampled Rome,
And where the temples of the Cæsars stood
The lean wolf unmolested made her lair.

— *Thomas Bailey Aldrich.*

What is meant by Naturalization?

All native born Americans become citizens upon arriving at age. Foreigners must become naturalized by forswearing allegiance to their native country and taking an oath of fealty to the United States. Indians become citizens by adopting civilized habits and taking their lands in severalty. Chinese and Japanese cannot be naturalized, but their children born here become citizens.

Naturalization is the concession by the sovereign power of a state of the rights of citizenship to an alien. This concession, when complete, clothes the alien with all the privileges, and subjects him to all the burdens and duties, of native born subjects. Among civilized nations, the right is conceded upon the performance of certain prerequisite conditions laid down

by the country of adoption, and involves the renunciation, by the naturalized person, of his native allegiance.

— *George W. Green.*

When a man is born into this Republic by naturalization, and takes the oath according to its intent, our institutions receive a new defender, and an additional element of strength. The oath of naturalization says to every man who seeks citizenship in our State: You must subordinate everything to America. There is nothing here but Americanism, and you swear that there shall be nothing here but Americanism. The oath of naturalization says to every man: We will not tolerate here the petty differences and factions of the old fatherlands. Leave them behind. We demand that men knocking at the gates of the nation, and seeking citizenship in this Republic, shall bring to us simply themselves. The oath of naturalization is an oath of purgation. The man who takes it, without mental reservation, and swears it according to its true spirit and import, gives up every allegiance to every foreign power, and is born into a new civil life—a life of absolute loyalty to the corporate personality called the American Republic.

— *David Gregg.*

We know, as well as any other class of American citizens, where our duties belong. We will work for our country in time of peace, and fight for it in time of war—if a time of war should ever come. When I say our country I mean, of course, our adopted country. I mean the United States of America. After passing through the crucible of naturalization, we are no longer Germans, we are Americans. America first, last, and all the time. America against Germany; America against the world; always America. We are Americans.

— *Richard Guenther.*

CITIZENSHIP.



THE BALLOT.

*A weapon that comes down as still
As snowflakes fall upon the sod;
But executes a freeman's will,
As lightning does the will of God.*

— JOHN PIERPONT.

CITIZENSHIP.

What is Citizenship ?

A Citizen is a member of a political community, who is entitled to its protection and who shares in its privileges. Citizenship is the state or condition of being a citizen.

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. .

—*Constitution of the United States.*

A great nation is made only by worthy citizens.

—*Charles Dudley Warner.*

Whatever one may claim as of right under the Constitution and laws of the United States by virtue of his citizenship, is a privilege of a citizen of the United States.

—*Thomas M. Cooley.*

It is certain that in the education that was given at Sparta, the prime purpose was to train Spartans. It is thus that in every state the purpose should be to enkindle the spirit of citizenship.

—*Charles P. Duclos.*

It is demonstrable that the founders of New England established its school system, not to enable men to earn a livelihood, but to qualify them for citizenship; not to help them to make money, or shine in professions, or to become skilled mechanics, prudent farmers, bold sailors, shrewd lawyers, accurate accountants, but to be capable and virtuous members of the body politic, to manage wisely public affairs. In the language of Milton, to "perform justly, skillfully, and magnanimously all the offices of peace and war." — *Homer B. Sprague.*

The future of American civilization, and with it the future of the world's civilization, is to be determined not by the influence of trade alone, but by the influence of trade joined with the influence of broad intelligence, humanitarian sympathies and unselfish purposes. The highest title in the new order of nobility will be neither "merchant" nor "scholar," nor yet "gentleman" in its conventional sense, but "citizen" — a title rich in its suggestion of public spirit, the recognition of the claims of human brotherhood, the merging of the individual into the higher life of the community, of the Nation, of humanity itself. — *A. V. V. Raymond.*

What are some of the Privileges of American Citizenship?

America is known and respected the world over. Its citizens, if molested, can appeal to American representatives abroad for help; its passport facilitates travel and affords protection. At home, the citizen is entitled to the fullest enjoyment of his

property, his freedom, and the protection of his reputation. If wronged, he can appeal to the government for redress; if a voter, he can take an active part in the election of officers; if qualified, he may aspire to any office.

Protection by the government; the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the right to acquire and possess property of every kind, and to pursue and obtain happiness and safety, subject, nevertheless, to such restraints as the government may justly prescribe for the general good of the whole; the right of a citizen of one state to pass through or to reside in any other state for purposes of trade, agriculture, professional pursuits, or otherwise; to claim the benefit of the writ of *habeas corpus*; to institute and maintain actions of any kind in the courts of the state; to take, hold, and dispose of property, either real or personal; and an exemption from higher taxes or impositions than are paid by the other citizens of the state may be mentioned as some of the particular privileges and immunities of citizens which are clearly embraced by the general description of privileges deemed to be fundamental.

— *Bushrod Washington.*

It is a common remark that the citizenship of the United States is a greater political privilege than is the citizenship of any other nation. It not only constitutes its possessor a constituent member of a great community, gives him a title to all the civil rights asserted and secured by our institutions, and to the protection of the government at home and abroad; but as it also makes him a citizen of the state wherein he may reside, it enables him to participate in the government itself. Even if he be a person of foreign birth, when naturalized he

stands on the same plane on which all native born citizens stand, except that he cannot be President or Vice President of the United States. He may have a voice in the choice of governmental officers, may share in making the laws of the land, and in administering or executing them.

— *William Strong.*

Suffrage means a vote or a participation in government, and, specifically, the privilege of voting under a representative government upon the choice of officers, and upon the adoption or rejection of fundamental laws.

— *James F. Colby.*

E'en when in hostile fields he bleeds to save her,
'Tis not his blood he loses, 'tis his country's ;
He only pays her back a debt he owes.
To her he's bound for birth and education,
Her laws secure him from domestic feuds,
And from the foreign foe her arms protect him.
She lends him honors, dignity, and rank,
His wrongs revenges, and his merit pays ;
And, like a tender and indulgent mother,
Loads him with comforts, and would make his state
As blessed as nature and the gods designed it.

— *William Cowper.*

What are some of the Duties of the Citizen ?

Every citizen should be industrious, and self-supporting, so as not to become a burden upon the public. He should pay taxes to maintain the gov-

ernment; should, if able, contribute voluntarily for public improvements; should himself obey the laws, and, when necessary, assist in maintaining order; should be ready to perform any public service required; should cultivate a patriotic spirit, and be willing to sacrifice personal advantage and party gain to the public good. He should study the history of his country and be an intelligent reader and close observer of current events.

Be a pattern to others, and then all will go well; for as a whole city is affected by the licentious passions and vices of great men, so it is likewise reformed by their moderation.

— *Cicero.*

Study the history and Constitution of your government; familiarize yourself with the principles upon which it was founded; teach them to your children, by the fireside and in the public schools; guard and cherish them against every assault, open or covert; remember that freedom, equal rights, and exact justice are the pillars upon which the whole temple rests, and that when one pillar is broken the edifice will fall.

— *Orville H. Platt.*

In order to understand the theory of the American Government, the most serious, calm, persistent study should be given to the Constitution of the United States. I don't mean learning it by heart, committing it to memory. What you want is to understand it, to know the principles at the bottom of it; to feel the impulse of it; to feel the heart-beat that thrills through the whole American people. That is the vitality that is worth

knowing; that is the sort of politics that excels all the mysteries of ward elections, and lifts you up into a view where you can see the clear skies, the unknown expanse of the future.

— *Charles A. Dana.*

The ideal citizen is the man who believes that all men are brothers, and that the nation is merely an extension of his family, to be loved, respected, and cared for accordingly. Such a man attends personally to all civic duties with which he deems himself charged. Those which are within his own control he would no more trust to his inferiors than he would leave the education of his children to kitchen servants. The public demands upon his time, thought, and money, come upon him suddenly, and often they find him ill-prepared; but he nerves himself to the inevitable, knowing that in the village, state, and nation, any mistake or neglect upon his part must impose a penalty, sooner or later, upon those whom he loves.

— *John Habberton.*

Few people have the leisure to undertake a systematic and thorough study of history, but every one ought to find time to learn the principal features of the governments under which we live and to get some inkling of the way in which these governments have come into existence, and of the causes which have made them what they are.

— *John Fiske.*

Why should Taxes be honestly and cheerfully paid?

Government exists for the benefit of the people; it protects them in their life, person, and property. It levies taxes for the erection of public buildings,

the maintenance of public highways, the support of schools, the expenses of the police and fire departments and the courts of law, the payment of salaries of public officials, etc.

If we live in any country not wholly barbarous, we cannot escape tax, and it is the fate of man to bear his proportion of its burdens in proportion to his expense, property, and consumption.

—*David A. Wells.*

By what right does the government annually take a small portion of each person's property? The right may be said to grow out of the necessity for the maintenance of an orderly condition of society. Schools must be supported, highways and bridges must be built and repaired; legislative bodies must meet to enact laws, and executive officers must see to their execution. The courts must be open for the relief of wrongs and the punishment of the vicious; the militia must be enrolled, armed, and trained; reformatories, jails, and prisons must be built and maintained for the restraint of criminals; and almshouses, asylums, and hospitals opened for the unfortunate, the incapable, and the poor.

—*M. B. C. True.*

Every one owes it to himself to contribute his full share to the common possessions of men — material, intellectual, and moral. Society always is what the individuals composing it make it; and in return, every individual, to become the best he is capable of, must depend on society. From society he draws back with compound interest all he can give it. But society owes him not a farthing except in return for what he has first given. It owes no mortal a living who has not first earned his living by contributing to the common store. If it

saves the indolent from starving, it does so solely as a gratuity. If any one would make the world his debtor, he must make it the richer for his having been in it. — *Ezekiel G. Robinson.*

In a representative republican government, such as that of the United States and those of the several states, there is one simple general rule in regard to the use of the money raised by taxation from the community. It is that it should be employed for those purposes only which are of general necessity or of supreme utility, and which can be attained by the state only, or by the state to a degree or in a way very far superior to those of private effort. — *Edward Cary.*

Upon whom rests the chief responsibility for the character of the Government?

The chief responsibility rests upon the voters, who choose the lawmakers and other officers. Voters are the real people, the actual sovereigns, the uncrowned kings who rule the nation. Voters are generally male citizens over twenty-one years of age; in Wyoming and Colorado women vote on all questions, while in some other states they vote on school questions, or in municipal elections.

All persons possessing any portion of power ought to be strongly and awfully impressed with an idea that they act in trust, and that they are to account for their conduct in that trust to the one great Master, Author, and Founder of society.

— *Edmund Burke.*

Whatever we would do for our country, must be done for

the people. Great results can never be effected in any other way. Specially is this the case under a republican constitution. Here the people are not only the real, but the acknowledged, fountain of all authority. They make the laws, and they control the execution of them. They direct the senate, they overawe the cabinet, and hence, it is the moral and intellectual character of the people, which must give to the "very age and body of our institutions their form and pressure."

— *Francis Wayland.*

In America the supreme law-making power resides in the people. Whatever they enact binds all courts whatsoever. All other law-making bodies must conform to the supreme law, else they will perish at its touch, as a fishing smack goes down before an ocean steamer.

— *James Bryce.*

Sovereignty in the literal sense of the word means supremacy. It cannot exist unless supreme. Hence the constitutions and laws of the people, their governors and legislators are not sovereign. These cannot be supreme since they can be changed or unchanged, made or unmade, by the people's will. The history of the United States is conspicuously other than the history of its great men. Our great leaders have not molded, but have been shaped by the public opinion of the nation. They have been trusted and followed only as they have been able to see the real movement of the people and to put themselves in its van. Whenever the movement of the people has been real and deep, it has been resistless. Men who have sought to stem it have been swept away or engulfed by the rising tide. The great changes in the national life have been brought about by what we can only call the instinct or the inspiration of the people.

— *Julius H. Seelye.*

What is the Duty of Voters?

If possible, every voter should study the questions to be voted upon, should form an intelligent opinion of the candidates and their principles, and then fearlessly vote as he believes, — intelligently, independently, conscientiously. He should scorn bribery as a crime, and insist upon exercising his right to vote, against any opposition. It is the citizen's highest privilege, an act of sovereignty, an expression of his will or choice. If he is hindered from voting freely, or, if his vote is not honestly counted, he is deprived of his prerogative as a citizen; the fundamental principle of the Republic is violated; force is substituted for freedom. The man who sells his vote is a traitor; he who is kept from voting by fear is a coward.

The three great menaces to our institutions are corruption, violence, and indifference, affecting the ballot. To the two former, public discussions show that we are alive. The last, however, is more insidious and not less alarming. In some of the older communities, notably in the great cities, a large and growing class neglect all political duties. Some think themselves too busy, some affect a lofty contempt for all public affairs, while others, like Gallio, "care for none of these things." Such men are no more honest or patriotic than he who unworthily avoids any other debt or duty. They have apparently no conception of their obligations as citizens, and are unworthy of their high privileges. The man who won't do his part in public affairs, who won't vote, ought to be dis-

franchised. If compulsory education is right, why not compulsory suffrage? Let the man who, without good excuse, fails to vote, be deprived of the right to vote. "Blessings brighten as they take their flight." — *W. H. H. Miller.*

There is no privilege without a corresponding responsibility. The ballot suggests not merely that a man may exercise his franchise, but that he must do so. This bit of paper is a token of a freeman's sovereignty, and he has no more right to ignore or decline its responsibilities than Queen Victoria would have to cast down her scepter in a pettish humor and refuse to govern her realm. One of the great evils of our time is "class secession;" the withdrawal of a considerable class from the exercise of citizenship. The right to vote involves a corresponding duty which no true citizen will regard with indifference. — *David J. Burrell.*

By the words public duty, I do not necessarily mean official duty, though it may include that. I mean simply that constant and active practical participation in the details of politics, without which the conduct of public affairs falls into the control of selfish and ignorant, venal and crafty men. I mean that personal attention, — which, as it must be incessant, is often wearisome and often repulsive, — to the details of politics: attendance at meetings, service on committees, care and trouble and expense of many kinds, patient endurance, chagrins, ridicules, all those duties and services which, when selfishly and meanly performed, stigmatize man as a mere politician; but whose constant, honorable, intelligent, and vigilant performance is the gradual building, stone by stone and layer by layer, of that great temple of self-restrained liberty which generous souls mean that our Government shall be.

— *George W. Curtis.*

Define the Ballot.

The ballot is a slip of paper on which is written or printed the name of the candidate or candidates to be voted for at an election. The ballots are deposited in the ballot box, by or in the presence of the voter, and are taken from the box by officers and counted, in order to ascertain who has been elected. Votes may be registered by machinery.

Ballot, from the Greek *ballein*, to cast or throw, a method of voting designed to secure secrecy, as distinguished from the open or *viva voce* vote. The ballot is as old as the fifth century B.C., when it was used in Athens, and we know not how much older.

— *Ainsworth R. Spofford.*

In America, the written ballot first appears in the election of a minister for the Salem (Massachusetts) Church in 1629. The next appearance of the written ballot is in the election of a governor for the Colony of Massachusetts Bay in 1634. By the famous Constitution of 1639, it was introduced as an integral feature of the political system of Connecticut, and, once introduced, was never lost. In Rhode Island, too, it found a lodgment, with the formal organization of the government in 1647. Its next appearance was in West Jersey, in 1676-77; and its last appearance in the colonial records of the seventeenth century is in Penn's "Frame of Government" for Pennsylvania, in 1683.

— *Douglas Campbell.*

So much progress has been made by the enactment of the Australian ballot laws that, true as it is that the great need of

all democratic communities is the constant and active participation of good citizens in public life, still one must not despise improvements in machinery, and those especially which give the good citizens an easier access to public works, and all citizens better means of judging who is to blame for what is done wrong.

— *James Bryce.*

The proudest now is but my peer,
The highest not more high;
To-day of all the weary year,
A king of men am I.
To-day, alike are great and small,
The nameless and the known;
My palace is the people's hall,
The ballot-box my throne!

While there's a grief to seek redress,
Or balance to adjust,
Where weighs our living manhood less
Than Mammon's vilest dust, —
While there's a right to need my vote,
A wrong to sweep away,
Up! clouted knee and ragged coat!
A man's a man to-day.

— *John G. Whittier.*

What should be the character of our Elections?

There should be a full and free opportunity for all to vote who are entitled to do so, a rigid exclusion of all illegal ballots, an accurate count, and an hon-

est report of the result. The ballot is intended to represent the free, intelligent, honest will of the people. If those who are entitled to vote are deceived in casting their ballots; if they are bribed; if they are induced to withhold their ballots; if men are allowed to vote who have no right to do so, or are permitted to cast more than one ballot; if fraudulent ballots are secreted in the ballot box; if votes are illegally rejected, miscounted, or incorrectly reported, the sanctity of the ballot box is violated, the election is unfair, a great wrong is perpetrated.

Frauds upon the ballot box should be ranked among the worst of crimes against republican government. The secrecy and the sacredness of the ballot should be maintained at whatever cost. The more free the people, the more carefully will the secret ballot be guarded, as the best guarantee of personal independence.

— *Ainsworth R. Spofford.*

The man who would poison the wells and springs of the land is justly regarded as a human monster, as an enemy to society, and no punishment could be too severe for him. Is not he a greater criminal who would poison and pollute the ballot box, the unfailing font and wellspring of our civil freedom and our national life?

— *James Gibbons.*

History and observation will inform us that elections of every kind, in the present state of human nature, are too frequently brought about by influence, partiality, and artifice; and even where the case is otherwise, these practices will be often suspected, and as constantly charged upon the successful,

by a splenetic disappointed minority. This is an evil to which all societies are liable; as well those of a private and domestic kind, as the great community of the public which regulates and includes the rest.

— *William Blackstone.*

The disfranchisement of a single elector by fraud or intimidation is a crime too grave to be regarded lightly. The right of every qualified elector to cast one free ballot and to have it honestly counted must not be questioned. Every constitutional power should be used to make this right secure and to punish frauds upon the ballot.

— *Benjamin Harrison.*

What is meant by Politics?

Politics is the science of government. It includes a consideration of all questions relating to taxes, roads, schools, courts, public officials and their duties,—in short, everything pertaining to secular affairs.

The conscious life of the state, the guidance of the state and the influencing of the affairs of the state, that is, conscious political practice, is what we call politics. Men who by their office or their calling take a prominent part in this practice and in the influencing of the affairs of the state, we may designate as political men. The honorable and dignified name of statesman is given only to those rare men who distinguish themselves as guides and leaders among politicians. The science of this political practice we also characterize as politics.

— *Johann K. Bluntschli.*

What I wish first of all to insist upon is the essential worth, nobility, primacy indeed, of the liberal pursuit of politics. It

is simply the highest, the most dignified, the most important of all earthly objects of human study. Next to the relation of man to his Maker, there is nothing so deserving his best attention as his relation to his fellowmen. The welfare of the community is always more important than the welfare of any individual, or number of individuals; and the welfare of the community is the highest object of the science of politics. The course and current of men in masses—that is the most exalted of human studies, and that is the study of the politician. To help individuals is the business of the learned professions. To do the same for communities is the business of politics. To aid in developing a single career may task the best efforts of a teacher. To shape the policy of the nation, to fix the fate of generations—is not this as much higher as the heavens are high above the earth? Make the actual politician as despicable as you may, but the business of politics remains the highest of human concerns. — *Whitelaw Reid.*

What is the necessity for Political Parties?

People who think alike on political questions very naturally unite to secure the triumph of their principles. Parties are essential; when organized for the promulgation of sound doctrine, and managed honestly, they promote the public good; when they advocate false principles or use corrupt methods, they are dangerous.

Men have differed in opinion, and been divided into parties by these opinions, from the first origin of societies, and in all

governments where they have been permitted freely to think and to speak.

— *Thomas Jefferson.*

Party has no doubt its evils; but all the evils of party put together would be scarcely a grain in the balance when compared to the dissolution of honorable friendships, the pursuit of selfish ends, the want of concert in council, the absence of a settled policy in foreign affairs, the corruption of separate statesmen.

— *John Russell.*

The spirit and force of party has in America been as essential to the action of the machinery of government as steam is to a locomotive engine; or, to vary the simile, party association and organization are to the organs of government almost what the motor nerves are to the muscles, sinews, and bones of the human body. They transmit the motive power; they determine the directions in which the organs act.

— *James Bryce.*

We reach the wider field of politics and shape the national policy through the town meeting and the party caucus. They should neither be despised nor avoided, but made potent in securing the best agents for executing the popular will. The influence which goes forth from the township and precinct meetings is felt in state and national legislation, and is at last embodied in the permanent forms of law and written constitutions. I cannot too earnestly invite you to the closest personal attention to party and political caucuses and the primary meetings of your respective parties. They constitute that which goes to make up at last the popular will. They lie at the basis of all true reform. It will not do to hold yourself aloof from politics and parties. If the party is wrong, make it better; that's the business of the true partisan and good citizen.

— *William McKinley.*

Define Demagogism.

Demagogism is the perversion of one's influence over the people to base or selfish ends. Every one who has influence over others should exercise that influence for the highest purposes ; political influence should be used to promote the peace and prosperity of the people, the improvement of the laws, and the advance of civilization. A great leader should be a great public benefactor.

I never could believe that Providence had sent a few men into the world, ready booted and spurred to ride, and millions ready saddled and bridled to be ridden.

— *Richard Rumbold.*

What we need most in this great Republic of republics is to study with earnest diligence the principles of our free institutions ; to hold him an enemy to the country who derides fidelity to the Constitution and trifles with his solemn obligation to uphold it ; who would use the power of the government to promote personal or party ends ; who stirs up the bitterness of buried strifes, and engenders sectional or class conflicts among the people of the Union ; and who does not hold it to be his best and noblest civil duty to uphold and defend the Constitution, in all its integrity, against all the temptations to its violation by the corrupting influences which surround us.

— *John R. Tucker.*

In a Ring there is usually some one person who holds more strings in his hand than do the others. Like them, he has worked himself up to power from small beginnings, gradually

extending the range of his influence over the mass of workers, and knitting close bonds with influential men outside as well as inside politics; perhaps with great financiers or railway magnates, whom he can oblige, and who can furnish him with funds. At length his superior skill, courage, and force of will make him, as such gifts always do make their possessor, dominant among his fellows. An army led by a council seldom conquers: it must have a commander-in-chief, who settles disputes, decides in emergencies, inspires fear or attachment. The head of the Ring is such a general. He dispenses place, rewards the loyal, punishes the mutinous, concocts schemes, negotiates treaties. He generally avoids publicity, preferring the substance to the pomp of power, and is all the more dangerous because he sits, like a spider, hidden in the midst of his web. He is a Boss.

— *James Bryce.*

What is meant by Civil Service Reform?

It is an effort to have the great body of government employés appointed to office, not as a reward for political service, but because of their fitness for the service required, and to have their tenure of office depend upon their efficiency.

Government is a trust, and the officers of the government are trustees; and both the trust and the trustees are created for the benefit of the people.

— *Henry Clay.*

In its general and most comprehensive sense, civil service reform means the removal of abuses in the public service, —

federal, state, and municipal, — and the enforcement therein of such just and sound principles and methods as will most contribute to good administration. Public office is a public trust.

— *Dorman B. Eaton.*

I would have the President keep the offices of the government above the reach of the flatterer and the demagogue, never bestow them as rewards for mere party service, and bring to his aid in the other trusts of the government the soundest patriotism, the most elevated and various intellect, the most enlarged capacity that his country affords.

— *L. McLane.*

The essential principle of civil service reform lies in the claim that appointive offices of the United States, with a very few exceptions, are not concerned with the carrying out of any distinctive party policy, but with the execution of work that should go quietly and uninterruptedly on through whatever changes of administration may occur. These offices relate to the intelligent and faithful performance of business only, — business with which the people as a whole, and not considered in the subdivisions of their party relations, have an undivided interest. To use such offices for any other purpose than this specific one, — to use them, and the salaries attached to them, for the benefit of a party, for the payment of personal or party debts, — is an abuse of trust and essentially dishonest in principle. Madison declared that the President who effected the removal of the incumbent of a non-political office for party reasons should be impeached. Washington regulated his official conduct with the strictest regard to the principles of civil service reform, as did Jefferson very largely, and John Quincy Adams wholly. There was a general recognition of

the vital importance of the principle by all our earlier statesmen of standing, until Andrew Jackson overturned the tradition of the fathers, and established that rule of spoils which has done so much to debauch American politics, and which Abraham Lincoln declared to be a more dangerous enemy to the Republic than the rebellion.

— *Herbert Welsh.*

In 1883 the civil service law was established at Washington and in the larger post offices and customhouses throughout the country, taking in a total of some fourteen thousand employés. The great extensions since have all taken place during the last six years, a period which happens to include my own term of service with the Commission, so that I write of them at first hand. In 1889 the railway mail service was added, in 1893 all the free delivery post offices, and in 1894 all the smaller customhouses and the internal revenue service. Other important but smaller extensions have been made, and the larger offices have grown, so that now about fifty thousand employés are under the protection of the law. There are, of course, and there always must be in a body so large, individual cases where the law is evaded, or even violated; and as yet we do not touch the question of promotions and reductions. But, speaking broadly, and with due allowance for such comparatively slight exceptions, these fifty thousand places are now taken out of the political arena. Those holding them no longer keep their political life by the frail tenure of service to the party boss and the party machine. They stand as American citizens and are allowed the privilege of earning their own bread without molestation, so long as they faithfully serve the public.

— *Theodore Roosevelt.*

What are the remedies for misrule in our Republic ?

Public criticism often suffices to bring about improvement in administration ; agitation is a lever of reform.

Public officials who are not amenable to public opinion may be displaced and others elected ; the ballot is the effective instrument of peaceful revolution.

Bad laws may be changed or repealed, and better ones enacted at the will of the majority ; the people rule.

Even constitutions may be altered by the will of the people. Ballots have supplanted bullets in winning the victories of liberty. No intelligent, free, virtuous, brave people need to submit to unjust or unwise laws. The way to secure good government is to elect good men to office.

Publicity is allied to light, and favors virtue.

— *John Bascom.*

Be patient with the wrongs that arise occasionally, with this drifting at times toward some heresy. The great jury of our people has to consider these things. The thousands of newspapers will gradually give all the argument on both sides, and the intelligence of the people will soon find out which is the right side. A mistake may occur for a month or a year, but before it is finally adopted the great verdict will be that which is right.

— *Joseph R. Hawley.*

The history of this country has abundantly shown that when the conscience of the American people is aroused, it is the most potent factor in American politics, defeating and bringing to shame the cunningly devised schemes of politicians that disregard or condemn it.

— *Lyman Abbott.*

Respect for the authority of the government, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

— *George Washington.*

What is the especial heritage of American youth of to-day?

The blessings of liberty, which cost their ancestors so much, are theirs by inheritance.

They are heirs to vast accumulations of wealth; every child may share in the advantage of the roads, railways, public buildings, parks, galleries, museums, libraries, labor-saving machinery, inventions, and general prosperity, which are the results of past toil.

They inherit great opportunities for education, travel, employment, usefulness, and happiness.

They are especially favored in the heritage of knowledge, ideas, and the general spirit of industrial, social, economic, and political philosophy, that constitute the true wealth of the country.

The heritage of American youth,—the true meaning and priceless boon of democratic institutions,—is equal opportunity in a land of equal rights. — *William L. Wilson.*

Liberty has been bought with a great price. Trace it along the centuries; mark the prisons where captives for it pined; mark the graves to which victims for it went down despairing; mark the fields whereon its heroes battled; mark the seas whereon they fought; mark the exile to which they fled; mark the burned spots where men gave up the ghost in torture, to vindicate the integrity of their souls; add sufferings which have found no record, and imagine, if you can, the whole. Liberty has cost more than all these! — *Henry Giles.*

You cannot calculate the value of the Union! The astronomer, from his observatory, may measure the disk of the sun, tell you his distance from the earth, describe the motion of his rays, and predict with positive certainty an eclipse; but he cannot compute the utility of heat, the blessings of light, nor the splendor and glory of the god of day. Who can calculate the value of constitutional liberty,—the blessings of a free press, free schools, and a free religion? Go and calculate the value of the air we breathe, the water we drink, the earth that we inhabit! By what mathematical process will you calculate the value of national character? In what scales will you weigh political equality and the ballot-box? At what price would you sell American citizenship? What is self-

government worth,—its freedom, happiness, and example? Calculate the value of the Union. — *Matthew W. Ransom.*

Science has lengthened life; it has mitigated pain, has extinguished diseases, has increased the fertility of the soil, given new security to the mariner, furnished new arms to the warrior, spanned great rivers and estuaries with bridges of form unknown to our fathers; it has guided the thunderbolt innocuously from heaven to earth; it has lighted up the night with splendor of the day; it has extended the range of human vision; it has multiplied the power of the human muscles; it has accelerated motion; it has annihilated distance; it has facilitated intercourse, correspondence, all friendly offices, all dispatch of business; it has enabled man to descend to the depths of the sea, to soar into the air, to penetrate securely into the noxious recesses of the earth; to traverse the land in cars which whirl along without horses; to cross the ocean in ships which run many knots an hour against the wind. These are but a part of its fruits, and of its first fruits, for it is a philosophy which never rests, which is never perfect. Its law is progress. A point which yesterday was invisible is its goal to-day, and will be its starting point to-morrow.

— *Thomas B. Macaulay.*

Advance, ye future generations! We would hail you, as you rise in your long succession, to fill the places which we now fill, and to taste the blessings of existence where we are passing, and soon shall have passed, our human duration. We greet your accession to the great inheritance which we have enjoyed. We welcome you to the blessings of good government and religious liberty. We welcome you to the treasures of science and the delights of learning. We welcome you to

the transcendent sweets of domestic life, to the happiness of kindred, and parents, and children. We welcome you to the immeasurable blessings of rational existence, the immortal hope of Christianity, and the light of everlasting truth.

— *Daniel Webster.*

In what spirit should American youth enter upon their heritage of Citizenship?

With the earnest purpose to improve their opportunities to the utmost, especially by acquiring the best possible education. With resolution to show themselves worthy of it by sobriety, industry, thrift. Respecting themselves and living uprightly; regarding the rights of others and helping the needy; loyal to the Republic and to its interests and glory.

Every citizen who rightfully uses his talents, of whatever kind, whether in private or public life, as truly serves his country as though he gave his life as a soldier on the battlefield. There are boundless opportunities for citizens of exceptional talents, wealth, attainments, and power to serve their country by founding or supporting institutions of learning, public libraries, art galleries, hospitals, homes for the worthy poor, and other beneficent charities.

Knowledge is, indeed, that which next to virtue truly and essentially raises one man above another.

— *Joseph Addison.*

I call upon you, young men, to remember whose sons you are—whose inheritance you possess. Life can never be too short, which brings nothing but disgrace and oppression. Death never comes too soon, if necessary, in the defense of the liberties of your country.

— *Joseph Story.*

Young men, you are the architects of your own fortunes. Rely upon your own strength of body and soul. Take for your star self-reliance. Energy, invincible determination, with a right motive, are the levers that move the world. Love your God and your fellow men. Love truth and virtue. Love your country and obey its laws.

— *Noah Porter.*

It is not enough that a nation should gather within its borders industries and commerce, political institutions, schools, universities, churches, a rich inheritance in literature, science, and art. It does not even suffice that men should be able, with a just and patriotic joy, to know that such achievements have made their country great in the eye of the world. The day of satisfying citizenship, and of realized progress and freedom, is still in the future, so long as the ordinary citizen has not yet learned to number these things among the influences that actually quicken, strengthen, enrich, and elevate his life.

— *John Maccunn.*

Have you thought what the government has cost? Do you realize what free government means? Do you remember as you have read the story of ages gone, how the barons met at Runnymede? Do you remember how they wrested a charter from the king? Do you remember how the Ironsides went into battle? Do you remember the psalm that rang out at the shock of the conflict? Do you remember Faneuil Hall, and Massachusetts, and John Hancock? Do you remember Car-

penter's Hall, and Benjamin Franklin? Do you remember Virginia and George Washington? Do you remember what the liberty we have has cost, and are you willing, because of fashion, because of ease, because of social enjoyment — are you willing to let the Republic get into the rapids simply because there are not strong men straining at the oars and keeping us back in the mid-stream of safety?

— *Stewart L. Woodford.*

Every true lover of his country may help to render liberty more secure by taking pains through his words and his deeds to impart to other citizens strength of noble desires and steadiness of will. Noble ideas of citizenship and its duties, wherever expressed, strengthen the will of all patriots, and noble deeds are more eloquent than mere words. Let us see to it that we live up to the level of our own best thinking, in our social and political relations as well as in our private life.

— *Merrill E. Gates.*

The riches of the Commonwealth,
Are free, strong minds, and hearts of health;
And more to her than gold or grain,
The cunning hand and cultured brain.

— *John G. Whittier.*

LABOR.



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LABOR.

Define Labor.

Labor is toil, or work ; manual labor is work done with the hands ; mental labor is work done with the brain ; skilled labor is that which requires training, experience, and special knowledge for its performance.

Honor and shame from no condition rise ;
Act well your part, there all the honor lies.

— *Alexander Pope.*

Under our form of government the value of labor as an element of national prosperity should be distinctly recognized, and the welfare of the laboring man should be regarded as especially entitled to legislative care. — *Grover Cleveland.*

Labor is discovered to be the grand conqueror, enriching and building up nations more surely than the proudest battles.

— *William E. Channing.*

Every man, rich or poor, who works and saves is, so far, the friend of his kind, and every man, rich or poor, who is idle, improvident, or wasteful, is, so far, the foe of his kind.

— *E. Benjamin Andrews.*

Mental labor manifests itself in a different way from physical labor. It is occupied in investigation and discovery. It seeks to find out the laws of nature which make physical labor effective, and to discover new ways in which they may be utilized. It invents, i.e. devises, instruments of production, without which physical labor could accomplish but little. It oversees and superintends, without which physical labor would be blind and inefficient. It educates, legislates, and governs. It is, in a word, the precedent and condition of any extensive effective physical labor.

— *Edmund J. James.*

No work that God sets a man to do, — no work to which God has especially adapted a man's powers, — can properly be called either menial or mean. The man who blacks your boots and blacks them well, and who engages in that variety of labor because he can do it better than he can do anything else, may have, if he choose, just as sound and true a manhood as you have, not only after he gets through the work of his life, but now, with your boots in one hand and your shilling in the other.

— *Josiah G. Holland.*

Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay.
Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade,
A breath can make them, as a breath has made;
But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroyed, can never be supplied.

— *Oliver Goldsmith.*

Why should we labor ?

Labor is the basis of individual well-being, of public prosperity, and of all progress. It is the

condition of civilization. Every human being is under the necessity of laboring if he would preserve his health, and discharge his duty to society. Labor is honorable; idleness, disgraceful. Every one should strive to acquire skill in his chosen sphere of service; should expect and demand a reasonable compensation; should respect the rights of all other laborers.

Without labor there is no ease, no rest, so much as conceivable.
— *Thomas Carlyle.*

A habit of labor in the people is as essential to the health and vigor of their minds and bodies, as it is conducive to the welfare of the state.
— *Alexander Hamilton.*

No man is born into the world, whose work
Is not born with him; there is always work,
And tools to work withal, for those who will;
And blessed are the horny hands of toil.

— *James Russell Lowell.*

The downright lazy man, who does nothing he can any way help, but leaves things to go as they may; who puts off to-day what will cost twice the labor to-morrow; who lets chances go past him, rather than rouse and lay hold of them; who has always an excuse for sloth — always a lion in every way; who, if he must work, does as little as possible; who talks longer about doing than it takes others to act; who will never stand if he can sit, and whom nothing can hurry, — is a drone whom nobody either respects or pities.
— *Cunningham Geikie.*

What practical advice would a wise man offer to a young workingman? Would he advise that young man to give him-

self great and primary concern for the abstract cause of labor? Probably not, if the young man happened to be his personal friend. He would advise him to be industrious; to take genuine interest in his trade; to endeavor by all means to grow more skillful in it; to make himself in every honorable way indispensable to his employer; to value highly his leisure, for the useful opportunities it can easily afford him; to make good friends and avoid bad ones; to acquire self-control and fixity of purpose; to learn the worth of money, and to form the habit of saving it as a means toward the acquisition of a full freedom. He would adjure his young friend to act upon the principle that every man must bear his own burdens. He would show him that the saving of an amount equal to from one to two years' earnings makes practically all the difference between a condition of independence and a condition of servitude or possible pauperism.

— *Albert Shaw.*

The heights by great men reached and kept,
Were not attained by sudden flight,
But they, while their companions slept,
Were toiling upward in the night.

— *Henry W. Longfellow.*

Define Wages.

Wages is the price paid for labor. It varies with the degree of intelligence and skill required for its performance; with the demand for the products, and with the competition of the laborers. Men of exceptional qualifications for leadership command exceptional wages.

As population increases the struggle to maintain wages becomes more severe, the pressure being the hardest upon the unskilled and growing less severe upon each higher rank of laborers.

— *William A. Scott.*

The leaders of industry, if industry is ever to be led, are virtually the captains of the world; if there is no nobleness in them, there will never be an aristocracy more.

— *Thomas Carlyle.*

I think every man who is conversant with affairs will admit that in every field of activity, in all branches of trade and commerce, in manufactures, in transportation by sea and land, in the army, in the navy, and in everything in which direction or superintendence is needed, the demand for presidents, managers, generals, and captains, for high executive officers of all kinds, is deplorably greater than the supply.

— *Edwin L. Godkin.*

Objectors would deny to administrative ability any claim to remuneration, and yet there is no other element of production of equal value with this, inventive ability excepted. An invention is completed: so far, so good; but it has to be set working. How many inventions have been long held back for want of the men fitted to put them into operation; what millions of money wasted for want of intelligence in employing them!

— *Yves Guyot.*

In their essence, trades unions are voluntary associations of workmen for mutual assistance in securing generally the most favorable conditions of labor. This is their primary and fundamental object, and includes all efforts to raise wages or resist a reduction of wages, to diminish the hours of labor or resist attempts to increase the working hours, and to regulate

all matters relating to methods of employment or discharge and mode of working.

— *George Howell.*

Are Labor Organizations desirable?

Men following the same occupation have a common experience that naturally draws them together, and it is wise for them to combine for the sake of social fellowship, mutual aid, and improvement.

Experience keeps the only school that most people learn practical wisdom in, and it is by forming unions and trying what they can accomplish that workmen learn the nature of law, the powers of government, and the fundamental principles of political economy.

— *D. McG. Means.*

The associative principle is an element of progress, protection, and efficient activity. The freer a nation, the more developed we find it in larger or smaller spheres; and the more despotic a government is, the more actively it suppresses all associations. The Roman emperors did not even look with favor upon the associations of handicrafts.

— *Francis Lieber.*

There is a socialism which is law-abiding and righteous. It is the socialism contained in the law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." That is a law which cannot be ignored even in the labor problem and the question of economics. Ours cannot continue to be "the age of the first person singular," as Emerson once called it. The first person plural, we, and not I, or the possessive pronoun plural, ours, not mine, must characterize the new age. Individualism has been tried; competition has or is having its day; monopolies cannot last.

Coöperation will call out all the best powers of man. The success of the future is dependent upon it. The most potent factors at work in society to-day tend toward it. And more than all there is an ethics in it that can be justified. All questions of reform are being quickened by an appeal to ethics.

— *B. P. Raymond.*

A society in which it has become a vice to maintain personal independence, and a virtue to submit to a coercive organization and to persecute those who do not, is a society which will rapidly lose again the liberties it has, in recent times, gained. Men who so little understand what freedom is will inevitably lose their freedom.

— *Herbert Spencer.*

Let it be frankly owned that workmen have a right to organize to protect themselves from unjust treatment; let it be as frankly acknowledged that employers going lawfully into business for the sake of personal profit, have also a right to conduct their business according to their will and judgment. Every workman has the right to insist, so far as he can, upon being paid what he considers to be a fair wage, and to quit employment (when not under contract), refusing it at a lower rate. He has a right also, by any fair persuasion, to engage the help of his fellows by their also refusing employment, so as to compel a higher wage.

But this right is the right of every man. If one may accept or refuse employment, at his own will, in accordance with his sense of what may be either just or for his own interest, another has the same right; and it is as much an outrage and act of injustice for a man to be coerced by his fellow workmen, as it is for him to be coerced by the no more tyrannical will of an employer, however favored by his exceptional position.

— *William J. Linton.*

Are Strikes justifiable?

Singly, or in combination, men may refuse to work if they are not well paid or properly treated; but they should always fulfill their contracts. They have no right to prevent others from working,—others whose right to go to work is just as sacred as is their own right to quit work.

A strike is the weapon of force, and “who overcomes by force hath overcome but half his foe.” I fail to see any lasting good in strikes.

— *Terence V. Powderly.*

No one denies the right of every laboring man to seek remunerative wages for his work, and he is at perfect liberty to quit that work when he thinks his labor is not adequately compensated, but his rights stop there. He has no semblance of right, in law or morals, to prevent another from taking the place he has given up. When employ  s, from some real or fancied injustice done them, give up the positions they hold, they exercise a clear right; but when by threats and violence they force others to join in unlawful combinations to invade the vested rights of their fellow citizens, they become law-breakers, and should be treated as criminals.

— *Wade Hampton.*

Labor must learn that, however sacred its rights be, there is something above them and absolutely supreme—social order and the laws of public justice. There is no civil crime as hideous and as pregnant of evil results as resistance to law and the constitutional authorities of the country. This resistance is revolution; it begets anarchy; it disrupts the

whole social fabric, which insures life and safety to the poor as well as to the rich, to the employé as well as the employer.

— *John Ireland.*

What is the influence of Machinery upon the condition of the people?

It tends to cheapen production, to shorten the hours of labor, to elevate the workman, and to add to the general prosperity.

It cannot be successfully denied that the direct influence of inventions has been felt in three ways, — the increase in wages (and I mean by this the increase in actual earnings in a given time), the reduction of working time, and the decreased cost of articles of consumption, whereby wages are made more efficient.

— *Carroll D. Wright.*

Not a garment that we wear, not a meal that we eat, not a paper that we read, not a tool that we use, not a journey that we take, but makes us debtor to some inventor's thought. Measured by what we can learn, see, do, and enjoy in a lifetime, we live longer than Methuselah, we are wiser than Solomon, richer than Cræsus, and greater than Alexander. Archimedes has found his fulcrum; it is the brain of the inventor.

— *Robert S. Taylor.*

There go to the making up of the newspaper of to-day a vast congeries of mechanical and intellectual appliances. It is so complete in its instrumentalities that it realizes many of the conceptions cherished in the childhood of the race as mythological fancies. Odin's ravens, the wishing-cap of Fortunatus, the cloak of invisibility, the "seven-league boots," the

winged feet of Mercury,—in short, all appliances whereby a *then* becomes a *now*, and whereby a *there* becomes a *here*,—are well-nigh realized in the modern daily newspaper, so far as the presentation to each man of the spectacle of the activity of his entire race is concerned. — *William T. Harris.*

Who is bold enough to say that the Constitution could have overspread a continent if the growth of invention and of inventive achievement had not kept pace with territorial expansion? It is invention which has brought the Pacific Ocean to the Alleghanies. It is invention which has made it possible for the flag of one Republic to carry more than forty symbolic stars. — *Charles E. Mitchell.*

How may the condition of laboring people be improved?

By education, industry, temperance, and thrift. Ignorance, idleness, intemperance, and waste are enemies, and hinder the advancement of any class of people. Every one should cultivate the highest respect for his own individuality, and strive to make the most of himself as a man.

Men at some time are masters of their fates.
The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars,
But in ourselves, that we are underlings.

— *William Shakspeare.*

As I go about among these wage-earners, the emphasis, do what I will, comes to lie less and less on possession, and more and more on character. — *Mrs. Humphry Ward.*

Of all labor questions there is none upon which the workers are more nearly of one mind than the movement for shortening the hours of labor. The desire for more leisure is honorable to the workers. It is begotten, not of idleness, but of an aspiration after higher things. They wish for opportunities of better culture, nobler family life, and occupations fitting them for the position of citizens. — *John E. Gorst.*

If we wish to know how we may best clear from this continent the superabundant forests that encumber it; how we may best lay the iron rail and put the locomotive upon it; how we may most profitably dig the abounding metals from their veins; how we may instantaneously communicate with our most distant towns; how we may cover the ocean with our ships; how we may produce a sober, industrious, healthy, moral population, we shall find our answer in providing universal instruction. That spontaneously provides occupation. The morality of a nation is the aggregate of the morality of individuals. A lazy man is necessarily a bad man; an idle is necessarily a demoralized population. — *John W. Draper.*

Let us remember that it is only religion and morals and knowledge, that can make men respectable and happy under any form of government. In our day and generation let us seek to raise and improve the moral sentiment, so that we may look, not for a degraded, but for an elevated and improved future. — *Daniel Webster.*

The problem in America is to elevate work by educating, and thus elevating, the workmen. The masses are already learning that mere muscle is weak; that brains help the hands in all work. If knowledge is power, ignorance is waste and weakness. What a man is stamps an impress upon what he does, even in the humblest forms of industry. Whatever ele-

vates the laborer improves his work. You can dignify work, therefore, in no way so surely as by educating and elevating the workmen.

— *Birdseye G. Northrup.*

Men do not commonly set success and happiness on the one hand, and ruin on the other hand, and then deliberately choose to be ruined. Yet men, by the millions, are constantly selecting and pursuing courses that inevitably lead to ruin. Here, for example, is a young man setting out in life, with a preference to become rich and prosperous. Yet he chooses a career of thriftlessness and extravagance that brings him to poverty ; or perhaps under the name of "business" he embarks in all sorts of gambling ventures that bring him to an empty purse and an empty character. His failure is the fruit of his own conduct. No man voluntarily chooses the disgrace and the disease and the doom of drunkenness. Yet unnumbered thousands do choose to tamper with the wineglass and the brandy bottle, and their voluntary choice does bring them to the drunkard's self-damnation.

— *Theodore L. Cuyler.*

But blessed that child of humanity, happiest man among men,
Who, with hammer or chisel or pencil, with rudder or plow-
share or pen,

Laboreth ever and ever with hope through the morning of life,
Winning home and its darling divinities, — love-worshiped
children and wife.

Round swings the hammer of industry, quickly the sharp
chisel rings,

And the heart of the toiler has throbbings that stir not the
bosom of kings, —

He the true ruler and conqueror, he the true king of his race,
Who nerveth his arm for life's combat, and looks the strong
world in the face.

— *Denis F. MacCarthy.*

CAPITAL.



UNITED STATES TREASURY BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Tracing property to its source, we find it has its origin, as a general rule, not in "theft," but in labor, either of the hand or of the brain, and in the frugality by which the fruits of labor have been saved. In the case of property which has been inherited, we may have to go back generations in order to reach this fact, but we come to the fact at last. Wherever the labor has been honest, good we may be sure has been done, and the wealth of society at large, as well as that of the worker, has been increased in the process.

—GOLDWIN SMITH.

CAPITAL.

Define Capital.

Capital is the accumulated product of labor, and may consist in tools, machinery, houses, lands, live-stock, railroads, mines, stocks, bonds, money, and other forms of wealth. Skill, valuable experience, and useful knowledge are subtle forms of capital.

Abstractly, money or the control of money, sometimes called credit, is capital. Concretely, capital consists of all forms of marketable matter which embody labor. — *John A. Hobson.*

Every poor man hopes to lay up something for a rainy day, and when he gets one hundred dollars laid up, to that extent he is a capitalist. — *James A. Garfield.*

What, in fact, is wealth? A result, and nothing more. It is a fruit of the liberality of nature, or of the labor of man. — *Charles Coquelin.*

What is it that enables a man to say justly of a thing, "It is mine"? From what springs the sentiment of his exclusive right as against all the world? Is it not, primarily, the right of a man to himself, to the use of his own powers, to the enjoy-

ment of the fruits of his own exertions? Is it not this individual right, which springs from and is testified to by the facts of individual organization, — the fact that each particular pair of hands obeys a particular brain and are related to a particular stomach; the fact that each man is a definite, coherent, independent whole, — which justifies individual ownership? As a man belongs to himself, so his labor put in concrete form belongs to him. And for this reason, that which a man makes or produces is his own, as against all the world, — to enjoy or destroy, to use, to exchange, or to give. No one else can rightfully claim it, and his exclusive right to it involves no wrong to any one else. Thus there is to everything produced by human exertion a clear and indisputable title to exclusive possession and enjoyment, which is perfectly consistent with justice, as it descends from the original producer, in whom it vested by natural law.

— *Henry George.*

Should we accumulate Capital?

Every man who can do so should strive to save something from his daily earnings, and accumulate it in some form of capital, so as to increase his power and enjoyment, provide for the enlarged demands liable to be made upon him, and to meet emergencies occasioned by accident, sickness, age, or loss of work.

A state of things in which a man would not think that what he had made for himself was his own is unknown to experience and beyond the reach of our conceptions.

— *Goldwin Smith.*

Without a class free from the care of material maintenance, all the other higher concerns of society, art, science, and education would languish or perish.

— *Robert S. Moffat.*

The interest of workmen is promoted by the accumulation of the greatest amount of capital. The more there is of it, the greater will be their share of it. Our rich men no sooner make money than they hasten to invest it in new enterprises, which increase the demand for labor and the rate of wages. If they make money in these enterprises they reinvest it with the same results. If their enterprises fail, it is they that bear the loss, and not the laborers to whom they have paid wages.

— *D. McG. Means.*

Man has a first property in his person and his faculties; he has a second, less intimately connected with his being, but not less sacred, in the products of his faculties, which includes all that are called worldly possessions, and which society is in the highest degree interested in guaranteeing to him; for without this guarantee there would be no labor, without labor no civilization, not even necessities; but instead, destitution, brigandage, and barbarism.

— *Louis A. Thiers.*

In the forces of civilization we find the banker in the forefront. It was a banker that first taught the world the maxim of an honest commerce. It was the Bank of Venice that was the first to arbitrate commerce and control the seas. It was a banker that first taught a nation that the public fidelity was the right basis of all successful effort in the business world. For six hundred years Venice maintained unstained her honor, elevating the civilization of the world. In course of time she was succeeded by Amsterdam and Antwerp, their bankers honoring every check and paying every piece of paper, teaching

the world that there was a giant in trade and commerce capable of strangling a nation. The bankers thus brought the world together, made the nations of the earth one man, one commonwealth.

— *Benjamin Butterworth.*

How should Capital be accumulated and used ?

It should be accumulated by honest and honorable means, and not used for selfish purposes only, but for general prosperity. It is entitled to fair returns, should be respected as a personal right, and should have the protection of the law.

Wealth, in itself considered, is only power, — like steam, or electricity, or knowledge. The question of its good or ill turns on the question how it will be used. To prove any harm in aggregations of wealth, it must be shown that great wealth is, as a rule, in the ordinary course of social affairs, put to a mischievous use. This cannot be shown beyond the very slightest degree, if at all.

— *William G. Sumner.*

They should own who can administer ; not they who hoard and conceal ; not they who, the greater proprietors they are, are only the greater beggars, but they whose work carves out work for more, opens a path for all.

— *Ralph Waldo Emerson.*

The wealth gathered into one great stream is capable of doing more public good than if it had remained scattered in the hands of thousands, probably to be frittered away. To establish a Cooper Institute of New York, or a Pratt Institute of Brooklyn, a Drexel Institute of Philadelphia, the Pratt Libraries of Baltimore, to bestow a public park or hospital,

requires a great sum, which, disbursed among the masses, we make bold to say, would be productive of infinitely less good than if concentrated into the hand of one who considers himself the trustee of the poor, and establishes such an institution.

— *Andrew Carnegie.*

That wealth is often abused, fearfully abused, is too true; so are strength, intellect, power, and opportunities of all kinds. It is also true that nothing can be more miserable or abject than to live in idleness by the sweat of other men's brows. But this is felt, in an increasing degree, by the better natures; private fortunes are more held subject to the moral claims of the community; a spontaneous communism is thus making way, and notably, as every observer will see, in the United States.

— *Goldwin Smith.*

Wealth may be an excellent thing, for it means power, it means leisure, it means liberty. But these, divorced from culture, that is, from intelligent purpose, become the very mockery of their own essence, not goods, but evils fatal to their possessor, and bring with them, like the Niblung hoard, a doom instead of a blessing. A man rich only for himself has a life as barren and cheerless as that of the serpent set to guard a buried treasure.

— *James Russell Lowell.*

The more methods there are in a state for acquiring riches without industry or merit, the less there will be of either in that state; this is as evident as the ruin that attends it. Besides, when money is shifted from hand to hand in such a blind, fortuitous manner, that some men shall from nothing acquire in an instant vast estates, without the least desert, while others are as suddenly stripped of plentiful fortunes, and left on the parish by their own avarice and credulity, what can

be hoped for, on the one hand, but abandoned luxury and wantonness; on the other, but extreme madness and despair? In short, all projects for growing rich by sudden and extraordinary methods, as they operate violently on the passions of men and encourage them to despise the slow, moderate gains that are to be made by an honest industry, must be ruinous to the public, and even the winners themselves will at length be involved in the public ruin.

— *George Berkeley.*

What are some of the relations of Capital and Labor?

They are never absolutely separate. Every laborer who owns a tool is in so far a capitalist; every capitalist must be to some extent a laborer.

They are mutually serviceable. Capital to be productive must employ labor; labor is dependent for reward upon capital. There can be no great enterprises for employing laborers without large capital; such enterprises can only be carried on by many workmen.

They are mutually dependent. Capital depends for its safety and profit upon the intelligence, fidelity, and skill of the employés. Labor is dependent for the life, health, and happiness of the workmen upon the justice and consideration of the capitalists. There should be between the employers and the employés mutual respect and confidence.

Both capital and labor are entitled to the protection of the law ; if need be, the whole force of the government may be used to protect either from unjust treatment by the other.

The great, all-embracing reform of our age is the social reform, that which seeks to lift the laboring class, as such, — not out of labor by any means, — but out of ignorance, inefficiency, dependence, and want, and place them in a position of partnership and recognized mutual helpfulness with the suppliers of the capital which they render fruitful and efficient.

— *Horace Greeley.*

Labor is essential to production ; physical labor is a necessary, inevitable factor in production. But capital, oversight, invention, all the work of head and heart that goes to improve social conditions, and make them intelligent and wholesome, have their share in creation, and must have their full share in the product.

— *T. Edwin Brown.*

Industries, which allow some profit-sharing which secures the laborer from want in sickness and old age, gain strength to themselves while comforting the workingman. And, as to some means of prevention of strikes and dangerous disputes between capital and labor, nothing better so far has been suggested than arbitration, in all the lines of justice and wisdom that national legislation can throw around. Arbitration will give at least moral conclusion, against which neither capital nor labor could well hold.

— *John Ireland.*

Coöperation touches no man's fortune ; it seeks no plunder ; it gives no trouble to statesmen ; it contemplates no violence ; it subverts no order ; it envies no dignity ; it accepts no gift

nor asks any favor; it keeps no terms with the idle, and will break no faith with the industrious. It is neither mendicant, servile, nor offensive; it has its hand in no man's pocket, and does not mean that any hand shall remain long or comfortably in its own. It means self-help, self-dependence, and such share of the common competence as labor can earn, or thought can win. And this it intends to have, but by means which shall leave every other person an equal share of the same good.

— *George J. Holyoake.*

All are architects of Fate,
Working in these walls of Time,
Some with massive deeds and great,
Some with ornaments of rhyme.

Nothing useless is, or low;
Each thing in its place is best;
And what seems but idle show
Strengthens and supports the rest.

— *Henry W. Longfellow.*

Is there any fixed line of separation between Laborers and Capitalists?

There is none in America, where caste does not exist, and where opportunities for improvement are so abundant. Many of the rich men of this country began their career as poor boys. The chief thing in life is character, which has no relation to wealth. Man's highest honor lies in the faithful performance of his duty in whatever sphere of life he occupies.

Just as the symmetry of the human body is the result of the disposition of the members of the body, so in a state it is ordained by nature that these two classes should exist in harmony and agreement, and should, as it were, fit into one another, so as to maintain the equilibrium of the body politic. Each requires the other; capital cannot do without labor, nor labor without capital. Mutual agreement results in pleasantness and good order; perpetual conflict necessarily produces confusion and outrage.

— *Leo XIII.*

Democracy, to be praised for many things, is most to be praised for this, that it has made it possible, without shame and without reluctance, to preach the gospel of duty to the whole people.

— *Arnold Toynbee.*

We can have no orders of nobility under our constitution. There can be no privileged class. All men are equal under the law. I do not mean that all persons are equal in all respects. There is no such thing as absolute equality, and cannot be; but before the law, in the enjoyment of our rights and in the undisturbed possession of what we have, we are all equal, as we could not be under a monarchy. Here there is no legal bar to success; all places are open to all.

— *Benjamin B. Comegys.*

Nature is republican. The discoveries of science are republican. What are these new forces, steam and electricity, but powers that are leveling all fictitious distinctions, and forcing the world on to a noble destiny? Have they not already propelled the nineteenth century a thousand years ahead? What are they but the servitors of the people, and not of a class? Does not the poor man of to-day ride in a car dragged by forces such as never waited on kings, or drove the

wheels of triumphal chariots? Does he not yoke the lightning, and touch the magnetic nerves of the world? The steam engine is a democrat. It is the popular heart that throbs in its iron pulses. And the electric telegraph writes upon the walls of despotism, *Mene, mene, tekel upharsin!*

— *Edwin H. Chapin.*

And well for Gain if it ungrudging yields
Labor its just demand; and well for Ease
If, in the uses of its own, it sees
No wrong to him who tills its pleasant fields
And spreads the table of its luxuries.
The interests of the rich man and the poor
Are one and same, inseparable evermore;
And when scant wage or labor fail to give
Food, shelter, raiment, wherewithal to live,
Need has its rights, necessity its claim.
Yes, even self-wrought misery and shame
Test well the charity suffering long and kind.
The home-pressed question of the age can find
No answer in the catchwords of the blind
Leaders of blind. Solution there is none
Save in the Golden Rule of Christ alone.

— *John G. Whittier.*

THE PERPETUITY OF THE REPUBLIC.



CAPITOL OF THE UNITED STATES, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.

—ORDINANCE OF 1787.

THE PERPETUITY OF THE REPUBLIC.

What is necessary to insure the continuance of the Republic and the preservation of Freedom?

Perhaps the most indispensable condition of the continued stability of the Nation is the existence of a universal love of country. Patriotism,—an intelligent appreciation of liberty as embodied in the Constitution and protected by law and the courts,—is the chief guarantee of permanence.

We are strong in our territorial extent, strong in the vast natural resources of our country, strong in the vigorous men and in the fair women who inhabit it, strong in those glorious institutions which our fathers of the Revolution transmitted to us; but, above all, strong, stronger, strongest in the irrepressible instinct of patriotic devotion to country which burns inextinguishably, like the vestal fire on its altars, in the heart of every American.

— *Caleb Cushing.*

Our boys and girls are to be trained to be Christian patriots. And then we are sure that they will be good citizens. We do not build on their learning, nor on their graces, nor their creed,—not, God knows! on their wealth. No! We ask them to

love their home because it is God's home; to serve the state because it is God's kingdom; and this is the whole duty of man.

— *Edward Everett Hale.*

Let me say a word for a little more patriotism in the schools. We have little in our every-day life to arouse patriotic ardor. We have no frequent or great exhibitions of power; no army to stand in awe of; no royalty to worship; no emblems or ribbons to dazzle the eye; and but few national airs. We have elections so frequently, and then say such terribly hard things of each other and about the management of government, that I imagine the children wonder what kind of a country this is that they have been born into. There is no such inculcation of patriotism among our children as among the children of some other lands. If I had my way, I would hang the flag in every schoolroom, and I would spend an occasional hour in singing our best patriotic songs, in declaiming the masterpieces of our national oratory, and in rehearsing the proud story of our national life. I would attempt to impress upon all the supreme value of their inheritance, and the sacred duty of transmitting it untarnished and unimpaired, but rather broadened and strengthened, to the millions who will follow after.

— *Andrew S. Draper.*

The idea that the United States are one nation, and not thirty-eight nations, is the grand cardinal doctrine of a sound political faith. State pride and sectional attachment are natural passions in the human breast, and are so near akin to patriotism as to be distinguished from it only in the court of a higher reason. But there is a nobler love of country — a patriotism that rises above all places and sections; that knows no county, no state, no North, no South, but only native land; that claims no mountain slope, that clings to no river bank,

that worships no range of hills, but lifts the aspiring eye to a continent redeemed from barbarism by common sacrifices, and made sacred by the shedding of kindred blood. Such a patriotism is the cable and sheet anchor of our hope.

— *John C. Ridpath.*

What besides Patriotism is required to secure the permanence of Free Institutions?

A republic of freemen must rest upon the intelligence of its citizens.

In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

— *George Washington.*

We are a Republic whereof one man is as good as another before the law. Under such a form of government, it is of the greatest importance that all should be possessed of education and intelligence.

— *Ulysses S. Grant.*

We are making the experiment of self-government, — a government of the people by the people, — and it has seemed a logical conclusion to all nations at all times that the rulers of the people should have the best education attainable. Thus, of course, it follows that the entire people of a democracy should be educated, for they are the rulers. — *William T. Harris.*

The forest is fading and falling, and towns and villages are rising and flourishing. And, better still, a moral, intelligent, and industrious people are spreading themselves over the whole face of the country, and making it their own and their home. And what changes and chances await us! Shall we go on increasing, and improving, and united, or shall we add another

to the list of republics which have preceded us, and which have fallen the victim of their own follies and dissensions? My faith in the stability of our institutions is enduring, my hope is strong; for they rest upon public virtue and intelligence.

— *Lewis Cass.*

A republic without intelligence, — even a high degree of intelligence, — is a paradox and an impossibility. What means that principle of the Declaration of Independence which declares the consent of the governed to be the true foundation of all just authority? What kind of “consent” is referred to? Manifestly not the passive and unresisting acquiescence of the mind which, like the potter’s clay, receives whatever is impressed upon it; but that active, thinking, resolute, conscious, personal consent which distinguishes the true freeman from the puppet. When the people of the United States rise to the heights of this noble and intelligent self-assertion, the occupation of the party leader, — most despicable of all tyrants, — will be gone forever; and in order that the people may ascend to that high plane, the means by which intelligence is fostered, right reason exalted, and a calm and rational public opinion produced, must be universally secured. The school is the fountain whose streams shall make glad all the lands of liberty. We must educate or perish. — *John C. Ridpath.*

Will Patriotism and Intelligence alone insure the preservation of Free Government?

No; we need patriotism, intelligence, morality, and religion. The destiny of the Nation and its institutions is in the hands of the people. To make

the sacrifices necessary for the discharge of their public duties, the people should be patriotic; to administer their trust wisely, they should be intelligent; to insure justice and mutual confidence and respect, they should be moral; to reach the highest results in personal life and national character, they should be religious.

We know, and what is better, we feel inwardly, that religion is the basis of civil society, and the source of all good, and of all comfort.

— *Edmund Burke.*

Of all the dispositions and habits, which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, Where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

— *George Washington.*

It is a remarkable fact that the precept which lies at the foundation of the Christian code, — “Do unto others as you would have others do unto you,” — was proclaimed as a moral

axiom centuries before the advent of the Saviour, and that He did not disdain to adopt it, stamping it with divine authority, and prescribing it for the government of mankind. If we are to contend successfully against the social and political evils which beset us, it must be through a better observance of this and His kindred commands.

— *John A. Dix.*

If the second century of self-government is to go on safely to its close, or is to go on safely and prosperously at all, there must be some renewal of that old spirit of subordination and obedience to divine, as well as human laws, which has been our security in the past. There must be faith in something higher and better than ourselves. There must be a reverent acknowledgment of an unseen but all-seeing Ruler of the universe. His word, His day, His house, His worship, must be sacred to our children, as they have been to their fathers; and His blessing must never fail to be invoked upon our land and upon our liberties.

— *Robert C. Winthrop.*

Christianity is the only possible religion for the American people, and with Christianity are bound up all hopes for the future. This was strongly felt by Washington, the father of his country, "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen;" and no passage in his immortal farewell address is more truthful, wise, and worthy of constant remembrance by every American statesman and citizen than that in which he affirms the inseparable connection of religion with morality and national prosperity.

— *Philip Schaff.*

Oh, make Thou us, through centuries long,
In peace secure, in justice strong;
Around our gift of freedom draw
The safeguards of Thy righteous law;

And, cast in some diviner mold,
Let the new cycle shame the old!

— *John G. Whittier.*

How does a well-regulated Home contribute to the prosperity of the Republic?

Under a wise system of family training, children are taught to render cheerful obedience to rightful authority, to respect the rights of others, and to contribute their share toward the common good. The home should be the nursery of the virtues of private character, which is the basis of good citizenship.

The safety of a nation depends not alone on the wisdom of its statesmen or the bravery of its generals. The tongue of eloquence never saved a nation tottering to its fall; the sword of a warrior never stayed its destruction. There is a surer defense in every Christian home. — *Henry B. Whipple.*

The family is the nursery of the state. The character of the family determines the character of the state. The more, therefore, the state magnifies the family, the more it contributes to its own elevation and advancement; and the more it belittles the family, the more rapidly it hastens its own degeneracy and ruin. — *Frank S. Hoffman.*

The organized household with its system of government and its domestic economy forms a miniature society, a school of discipline. Parental affection supplies care, patience, and loving persistence, by which alone the best results can be secured.

Children are trained to prompt instinctive habits, which are often more useful than reasoned conduct; they learn to practice subordination and obedience, which are so necessary in social tasks of coöperation; in their relations with brothers, sisters, and parents, they are taught principles of justice, and sentiments of courtesy and kindness, which make true social life possible; they are specially trained, usually with the aid of schools and other institutions, to perform certain of the tasks which society imposes upon its members, and thus are prepared to take their places in the social organism.

— *Small and Vincent.*

The man who kindles the fire on the hearthstone of an honest and righteous home burns the best incense to liberty. He does not love mankind less who loves his neighbor most. Exalt the citizen. As the state is the unit of government, he is the unit of the state. Teach him that his home is his castle, and his sovereignty rests beneath his hat. Make him self-respecting, self-reliant, and responsible. Let him lean on the state for nothing that his own arm can do, and on the government for nothing that his state can do. Let him cultivate independence to the point of sacrifice, and learn that humble things with unbartered liberty are better than splendors bought with its price.

— *Henry W. Grady.*

By the gathering round the winter hearth,
When twilight called unto household mirth;
By the fairy tale or the legend old
In that ring of happy faces told;
By the quiet hour when hearts unite
In the parting prayer and the kind "good night!"
By the smiling eye, and the loving tone,
Over thy life has the spell been thrown.

And bless that gift! — it hath gentle might,
A guardian power and a guiding light.
It hath led the freeman forth to stand
In the mountain battles of his land;
It hath brought the wanderer o'er the seas
To die on the hills of his own fresh breeze;
And back to the gates of his father's hall
It hath led the weeping prodigal.

— *Felicia D. Hemans.*

How can Schools aid in perpetuating the Republic?

By training their pupils to be truthful, honest, and faithful to trusts; to be independent and self-respectful; to love learning and to be public spirited. Culture, character, and good citizenship are the rich results of wise school training.

As there is one end in view in every city, it is evident that education ought to be one and the same in all; and that this should be a common care, and not that of each individual, as it now is, when every one takes care of his own children, separately, and each parent in private teaches them as he pleases, but the training of what belongs to all ought to be in common.

— *Aristotle.*

Let the soldier be abroad if he will, he can do nothing in this age. There is another personage, a personage less imposing in the eyes of some, perhaps insignificant. The schoolmaster is abroad, and I trust to him, armed with his primer, against the soldier in full military array.

— *Lord Brougham.*

Where shall we go to find an agency that can uphold and

renovate declining public virtue? Where should we go but there, where the Promethean fire is ever to be rekindled until it shall finally expire, where motives are formed and passions disciplined? To the domestic fireside and humbler school, where the American citizen is trained. Instruct him there, that it will not be enough that he can claim for his country Lacedæmonian heroism, but that more than Spartan valor and more than Roman magnificence is required of her.

— *William H. Seward.*

The work of the school produces self-respect, because the pupil makes himself the measure of his fellows, and grows to be equal to them spiritually by the mastery of their wisdom. Self-respect is the root of the virtues and the active cause of a career of growth in power to know and power to do. Webster called the schools "a wise and liberal system of police, by which property and peace of society are secured." He explained the effect of the school as exciting "a feeling of responsibility and a sense of character."

— *William T. Harris.*

Again, each morning as we pass

The city's streets along,

We hear the voices of the class

Ring out the Nation's song.

The small boy's treble piping clear,

The bigger boy's low growl,

And from the boy who has no ear,

A weird, discordant howl.

With swelling hearts we hear them sing,

"My Country, 'tis of thee" —

From childish throats the anthem ring,

"Sweet land of liberty!"

Their little hearts aglow with pride,
Each, with exultant tongue,
Proclaims: "From every mountain side
Let Freedom's song be sung."
Let him who'd criticise the time,
Or scout the harmony,
Betake him to some other clime —
No patriot is he!
From scenes like these our grandeur springs,
And we shall e'er be strong,
While o'er the land the schoolhouse rings
Each day with Freedom's song.

— *Anonymous.*

Why do the States and the Nation maintain Schools at public expense, and foster and encourage, in other ways, Universal Education?

The perpetuity of republican government, the welfare of the Nation, and the progress of civilization, depend very largely upon universal education. Self preservation prompts the State to look well to the wise training of its future citizens.

No system of education is worthy the name, unless it creates a great educational ladder, with one end in the gutter and the other in the university. — *Thomas H. Huxley.*

Education should not only be sufficient in amount and good in quality, but it should be universal. No child ought to be permitted to grow up without its benefits. The single cess-pool, the single case of the contagious disease, neglected by

sanitary customs, may imperil the whole city. So, under the operation of the social and moral nature of man, the children or the single child not subjected to well-directed instruction, may become the origin of evil which shall imperil every dollar of property, every life, and the character of every individual in the community. Educators must contemplate the whole body politic.

— *John Eaton.*

The school system of the future must have life in itself; no dead forms will suffice. It must be American, in its deepest significance, liberty-loving, liberty-promoting. As a friend to true liberty, it must encourage industry, sobriety, impartiality. It must inculcate love of order and respect for law. Its course must widen in the principles of government, the theory of politics, the resources of the people, questions of economy in industries and in finance, the responsibilities of office-holding, with more patriotic and less personal ends in view, the sacredness of the ballot, the emblem of a freeman's power and the pledge of a freeman's honor. The school of the future must impress upon the pupil the value of American citizenship in all political and economic relations.

— *Josiah L. Pickard.*

In France they spend \$4.00 per capita on the army and 70 cents per capita on education. In England they spend \$3.72 per capita on the army and 62 cents per capita on education. In Prussia they spend \$2.04 per capita on the army and 50 cents per capita on education. In Italy they spend \$1.52 per capita on the army and 36 cents per capita on education. In Austria they spend \$1.36 per capita on the army and 32 cents per capita on education. In Russia they spend \$2.04 per capita on the army and 3 cents per capita on education. In the United States we spend 39 cents per capita on the army and \$1.35 per capita on education.

— *Wayland Hoyt.*

The church is the mightiest, most pervasive, most beneficent force in our civilization. It affects, directly or indirectly, all human activities and interests. It is a large property-holder, and influences the market for real estate. It is a corporation, and administers large trusts. It is a public institution, and is therefore the subject of protective legislation. It is a capitalist, and gathers and distributes large wealth. It is an employer, and furnishes means of support to ministers, organists, singers, janitors, and others. It is a relief organization, feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and assisting the destitute. It is a university, training children and instructing old and young by public lectures on religion, morals, industry, thrift, and the duties of citizenship. It is a reformatory influence, recovering the vicious, immoral, and dangerous elements of society and making them exemplary citizens. It is organized beneficence, founding hospitals for the sick, asylums for orphans, refuges for the homeless, and schools, colleges, and universities for the ignorant. Every cornerstone it lays, it lays for humanity; every temple it opens, it opens to the world; its ministers are messengers of good tidings, ambassadors of hope, and angels of mercy. What is there among men to compare with the church in its power to educate, elevate, and civilize mankind?

— *Henry K. Carroll.*

The fireside, the pulpit, the school, and the shop must be linked and leagued together. Each must help every other. Home must connect itself in all its firm authorities, sweet affections, and tender influences, with pulpit, school, and shop. Pulpit must send its reverence, faith, and hope, its lofty moral and religious standards and its sacred magnetisms into home, school, and shop. School must reach with its habits of honest, concentrated, and continuous thinking, its wealth of

learning and its broad horizons, pulpit, home, and shop, and shop must put its knowledge of men and things, its tact, industry, and economy, and its wholesome common sense into the administrations of the family, the utterances of the pulpit, and the instructions of the school. — *John H. Vincent.*

AMERICA.

O mother of a mighty race,
Yet lovely in thy youthful grace!
The elder dames, thy haughty peers,
Admire and hate thy blooming years;
 With words of shame
And taunts of scorn they join thy name.

They know not in their hate and pride,
What virtues with thy children bide, —
How true, how good, thy graceful maids
Make bright, like flowers, the valley shades;
 What generous men
Spring, like thine oaks, by hill and glen.

What cordial welcomes greet the guest
By thy lone rivers of the West;
How faith is kept, and truth revered,
And man is loved and God is feared,
 In woodland homes,
And where the ocean border foams.

There's freedom at thy gates, and rest
For earth's down-trodden and opprest,
A shelter for the hunted head,
For the starved laborer toil and bread.
 Power at thy bounds
Stops, and calls back his baffled hounds.

O fair young mother ! on thy brow
Shall sit a nobler grace than now.
Deep in the brightness of thy skies
The thronging years in glory rise,
 And, as they fleet,
Drop strength and riches at thy feet.

Thine eye with every coming hour
Shall brighten, and thy fame shall tower ;
And when thy sisters, elder born,
Would brand thy name with words of scorn,
 Before thine eye
Upon their lips the taunt shall die.

— *William Cullen Bryant.*

GOD SAVE THE STATE.

God bless our native land !
Firm may she ever stand,
 Through storm and night !
When the wild tempests rave,
Ruler of wind and wave,
Do Thou our country save
 By Thy great might.

For her our prayer shall rise
To God above the skies ;
 On Him we wait :
Thou who art ever nigh,
Guarding with watchful eye,
To Thee aloud we cry,
 God save the State.

— *Charles Brooks.*

FREEDOM, OUR QUEEN.

Land where the banners wave last in the sun,
Blazoned with star-clusters, many in one,
Floating o'er prairie and mountain and sea;
Hark, 'tis the voice of thy children to thee!

Here at thine altar our vows we renew,
Still in thy cause to be loyal and true —
True to thy flag of the field and the wave,
Living to honor it, dying to save!

Mother of heroes! if perfidy's blight
Fall on a star in thy garland of light,
Sound but one bugle-blast! Lo! at the sign,
Armies all panoplied wheel into line!

Hope of the world! thou hast broken its chains —
Wear thy bright arms while a tyrant remains;
Stand for the right till the nations shall own
Freedom their sovereign, with law for her throne!

Freedom! sweet freedom! our voices resound,
Queen by God's blessing, unsceptered, uncrowned!
Freedom! sweet freedom! our pulses repeat,
Warm with her life-blood, as long as they beat!

Fold the broad banner-stripes over her breast,
Crown her with star-jewels, Queen of the West!
Earth for her heritage, God for her friend,
She shall reign over us, world without end!

— *Oliver Wendell Holmes.*

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.¹

Preamble.— We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.— **Section 1.** All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section 2. 1 The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

2 No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3 Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plan-

¹ This copy of the Constitution follows, in text and punctuation, the Rolls in the Department of State at Washington.

tations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

4 When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5 The House of Representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers ; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Section 3. 1 The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years ; and each senator shall have one vote.

2 Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year ; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3 No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4 The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5 The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6 The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the chief-justice shall preside : and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

7 Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend farther than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States : but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

Section 4. 1 The times, places and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the

Legislature thereof ; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

2 The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section 5. 1 Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business ; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each house may provide.

2 Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

3 Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy ; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4 Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

Section 6. 1 The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same ; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2 No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time ; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

Section 7. 1 All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives ; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2 Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States ; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall

return it, with his objections to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3 Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Section 8. The Congress shall have power

1 To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2 To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3 To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4 To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5 To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6 To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7 To establish post-offices and post-roads;

8 To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9 To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10 To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;

11 To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water ;

12 To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years ;

13 To provide and maintain a navy ;

14 To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces ;

15 To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions ;

16 To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress ;

17 To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings ; and

18 To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

Section 9. 1 The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2 The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3 No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

4 No capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

5 No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6 No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another: nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7 No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law ; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8 No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States : and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

Section 10. 1 No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation ; grant letters of marque and reprisal ; coin money ; emit bills of credit ; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts ; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts ; or grant any title of nobility.

2 No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws : and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States ; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3 No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II. — Section 1. 1 The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows :

2 Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress : but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

[The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each ; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The

person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed ; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President ; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote ; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice President.]

3 The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes ; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

4 No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President ; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

5 In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

6 The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

7 Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation : —

“ I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

Section 2. 1 The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States ; he may require

the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2 He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3 The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Section 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Section 4. The President, Vice President and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III. — Section 1. The judicial power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Section 2. 1 The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between

citizens of different States ; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States ; and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

2 In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3 The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury ; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed ; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Section 3. 1 Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2 The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV. — **Section 1.** Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Section 2. 1 The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2 A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3 No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Section 3. 1 New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union ; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State ; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or

more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2 The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature, or of the executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.—The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first Article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.—1 All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

2 This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3 The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.—The ratification of the conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, *President and Deputy from Virginia.*

New Hampshire. — John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.

Massachusetts. — Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.

Connecticut. — William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman.

New York. — Alexander Hamilton.

New Jersey. — William Livingston, William Paterson, David Brearley, Jonathan Dayton.

Pennsylvania. — Benjamin Franklin, Robert Morris, Thomas Fitzsimons, James Wilson, Thomas Mifflin, George Clymer, Jared Ingersoll, Gouverneur Morris.

Delaware. — George Read, John Dickinson, Jacob Broom, Gunning Bedford, Jr., Richard Bassett.

Maryland. — James M'Henry, Daniel Carroll, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer.

Virginia. — John Blair, James Madison, Jr.

North Carolina. — William Blount, Hugh Williamson, Richard Dobbs Spaight.

South Carolina. — John Rutledge, Charles Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Pierce Butler.

Georgia. — William Few, Abraham Baldwin.

Attest, WILLIAM JACKSON, Secretary.

ARTICLES

In addition to, and amendment of, the Constitution of the United States.

Article I. — Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

Article II. — A well-regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

Article III. — No soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Article IV. -- The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Article V. -- No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in active service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

Article VI. -- In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

Article VII. -- In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

Article VIII. -- Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Article IX. -- The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Article X. -- The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Article XI. -- The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

Article XII. -- The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct

ballots the person voted for as Vice President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; — The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; — The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President, shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

Article XIII. — 1 Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

2 Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Article XIV. — 1 All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, lib-

erty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

2 Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

3 No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President or Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each house, remove such disability.

4 The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

5 The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article.

Article XV.—1 The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

2 The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident:—That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained ; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, — a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected ; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large, for their exercise, the State remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States ; for that purpose, obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws ; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation, —

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us :

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States :

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world :

For imposing taxes on us without our consent :

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury :

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences :

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies :

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments :

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries, to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections against us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity; and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Josiah Bartlett,
William Whipple,
Matthew Thornton.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

Samuel Adams,
John Adams,
Robert Treat Paine,
Elbridge Gerry,
John Hart,
Abraham Clark.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Robert Morris,
Benjamin Rush,
Benjamin Franklin,
John Morton,
George Clymer,
James Smith,
George Taylor,
James Wilson,
George Ross.

DELAWARE.

Cæsar Rodney,

George Read,
Thomas M'Kean.

RHODE ISLAND.

Stephen Hopkins,
William Ellery.

CONNECTICUT.

Roger Sherman,
Samuel Huntington,
William Williams,
Oliver Wolcott.

MARYLAND.

Samuel Chase,
William Paca,
Thomas Stone,
Charles Carroll, of Carrollton.

VIRGINIA.

George Wythe,
Richard Henry Lee,
Thomas Jefferson,
Benjamin Harrison,
Thomas Nelson, Jr.,
Francis Lightfoot Lee,
Carter Braxton.

NEW YORK.

William Floyd,
Philip Livingston,
Francis Lewis,
Lewis Morris.

NEW JERSEY.

Richard Stockton,
John Witherspoon,
Francis Hopkinson.

NORTH CAROLINA.

William Hooper,
Joseph Hewes,
John Penn.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Edward Rutledge,
Thomas Heyward, Jr.,
Thomas Lynch, Jr.,
Arthur Middleton.

GEORGIA.

Button Gwinnett,
Lyman Hall,
George Walton.

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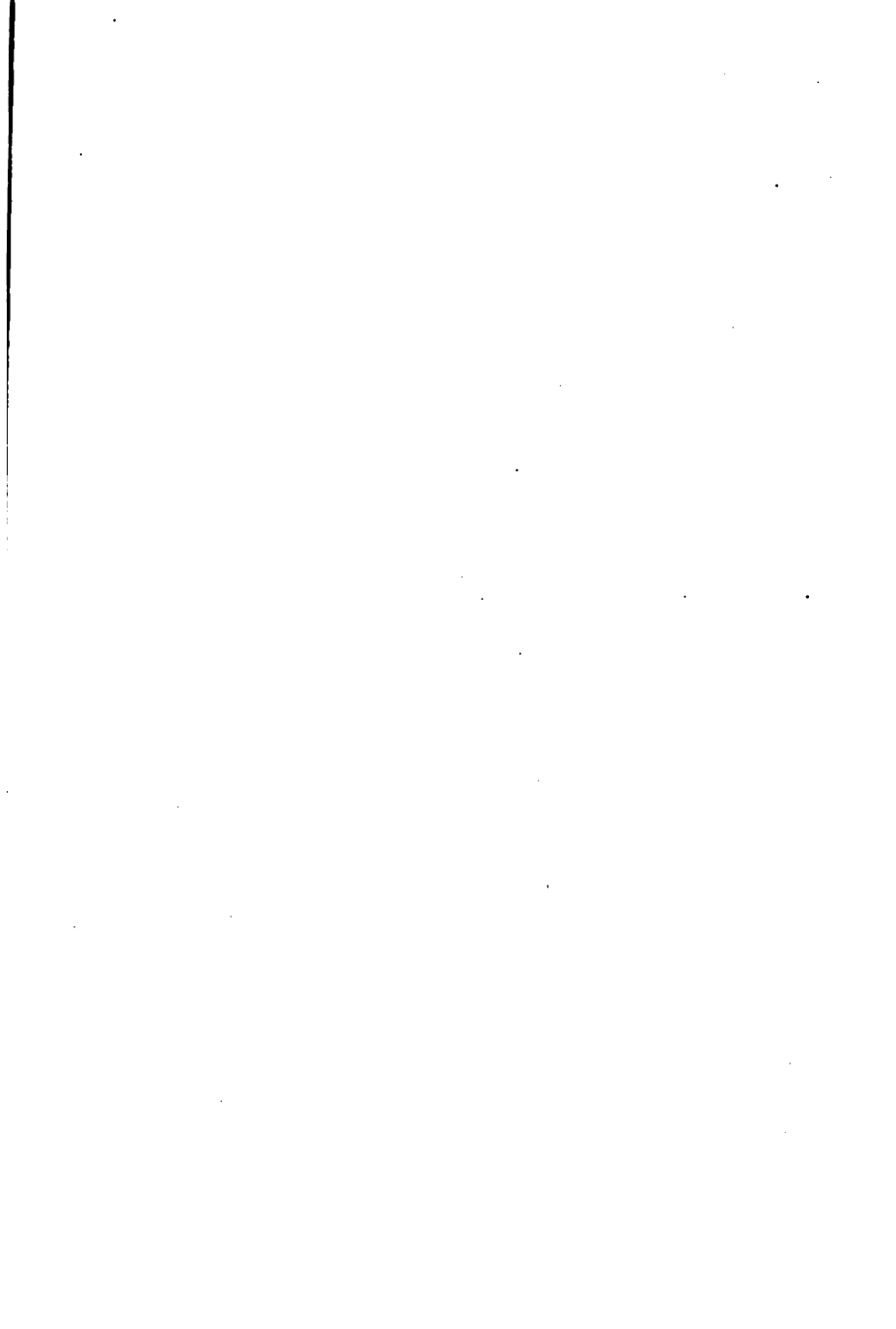
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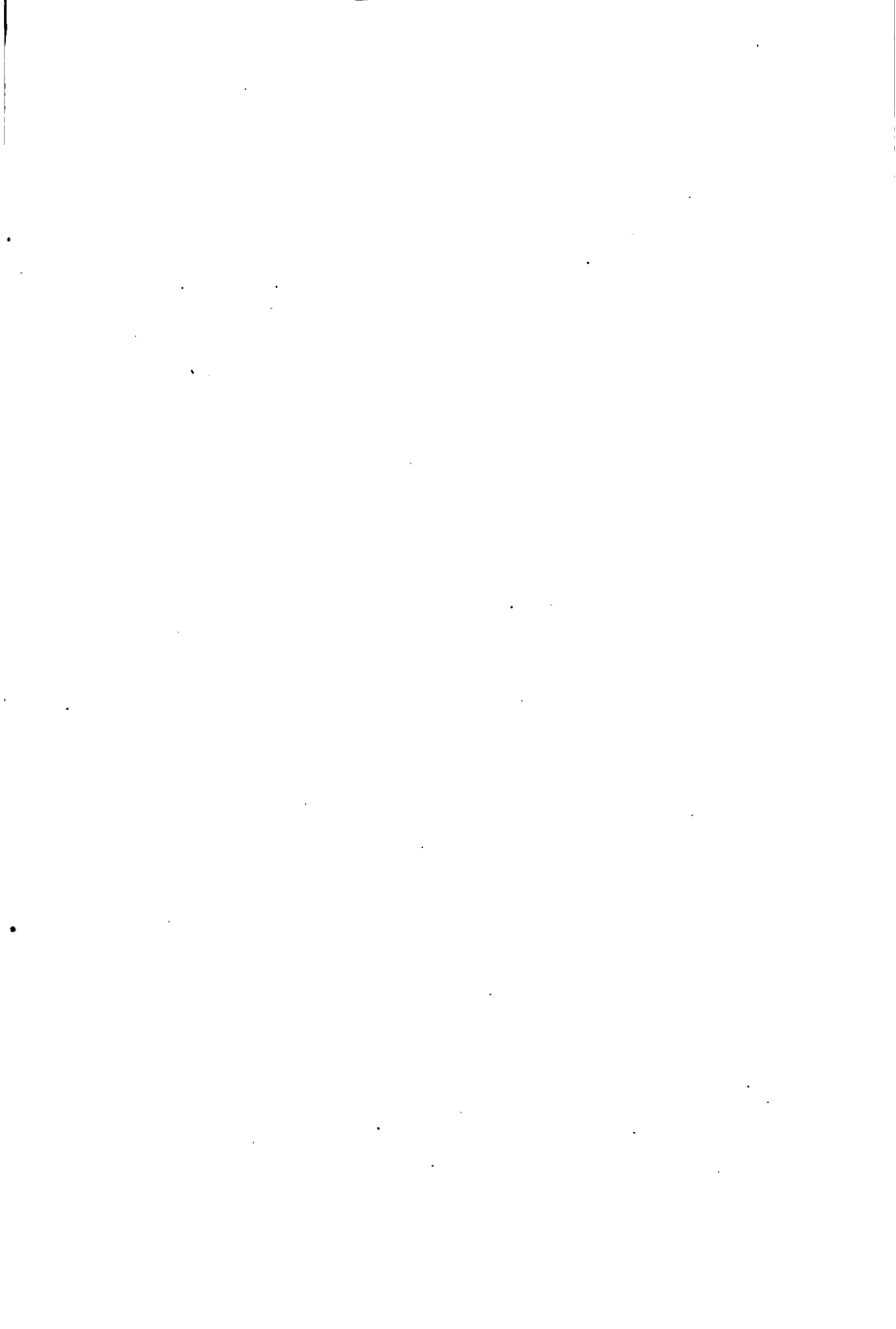
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